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No.268/September 2010

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Mid Production variant details are accurately reproduced and both belt and assembly type tracks are included.



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Tribute to the Battle of Britain), color maps, 50 aircraft profiles and 9 color uniform illustrations. A fitting tribute and record of "their finest hour", 160 pages.

### SS2044 - Italian Truck-Mounted Artillery in Action



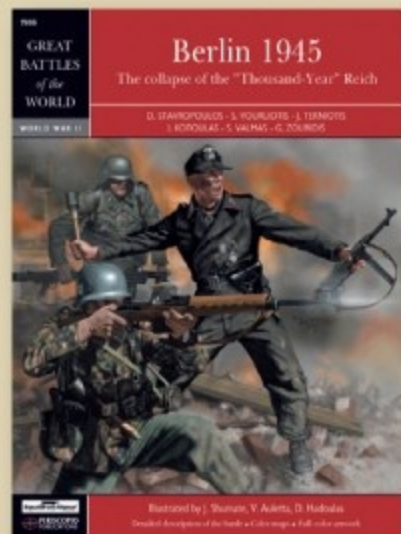
Italian military planners saw the need for highly mobile artillery early in the 20th Century. Accordingly, Italy began mounting anti-aircraft weapons on truck chassis prior to WWI, giving birth to the autocannone, a weapon concept which would soldier through both World Wars. Other vehicles, some captured, were mated with a wide variety of weapons, often in the field. Illustrated with over 200 photographs, plus color profiles and detailed line drawings; 52 pages.

### SS5712 - M3 Medium Tank Lee (Lee & Grant) Walk Around



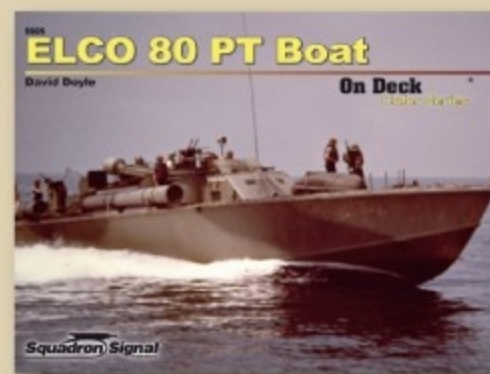
The M3 Medium Tank was designed as an answer to European battlefield conditions at the start of WWII. The solution was the M3's unconventional design, which features a 75mm main gun mounted in a sponson on the right, front of the hull. The British dubbed it 'General Grant' and named the US Army version 'General Lee.' This book takes a detailed look at the M3 Tank with more than 200 photographs, color profiles and detailed line drawings. 80 pages.

### SS7005 - Great Battles of the World: Berlin 1945



By the dawn of 1945, the Western Allies had driven back Hitler's last, desperate effort in the Ardennes. However, the Allies' insistence on Germany's unconditional surrender deterred the Germans from making any concession over ending the war - Hitler and the Nazi faithful saw their only option to be a fanatical Wagnerian stand leaving only Germany's ruins to commemorate the tragedy. Further, it was already clear that another kind of war was right around the corner. The Soviets had already reached Budapest and the Oder River; it was obvious who would dominate Eastern Europe. The only hope for America and Britain to retain what they could of Central Europe was to take Berlin, but the 'Russian steamroller' forestalled them. Massive Soviet forces attacked the city in April 1945 - the last act of the confrontation between the Communists and the National Socialists and the first act of the Cold War. Illustrated with color and b/w photographs, color maps, 8 aircraft and 9 armor profiles, and 14 color uniform plates; Stavropoulos, Vourliotis, Terniotis, Kotoulas, Valmas, and Zouridis. Great Battles of the World; 128 pages.

### SS5605 - ELCO 80 PT Boat On Deck



Say "PT Boat" and the image that comes to mind is that of the 80-foot patrol torpedo boat built by the Electric Launch Company (ELCO) in Bayonne, New Jersey. A trio of Packard marine engines, delivering 1200 to 1500 horsepower each, gave the PT Boats speeds of 40 knots. Packed Over 200 photographs, plus color art and profiles; 80 pages.

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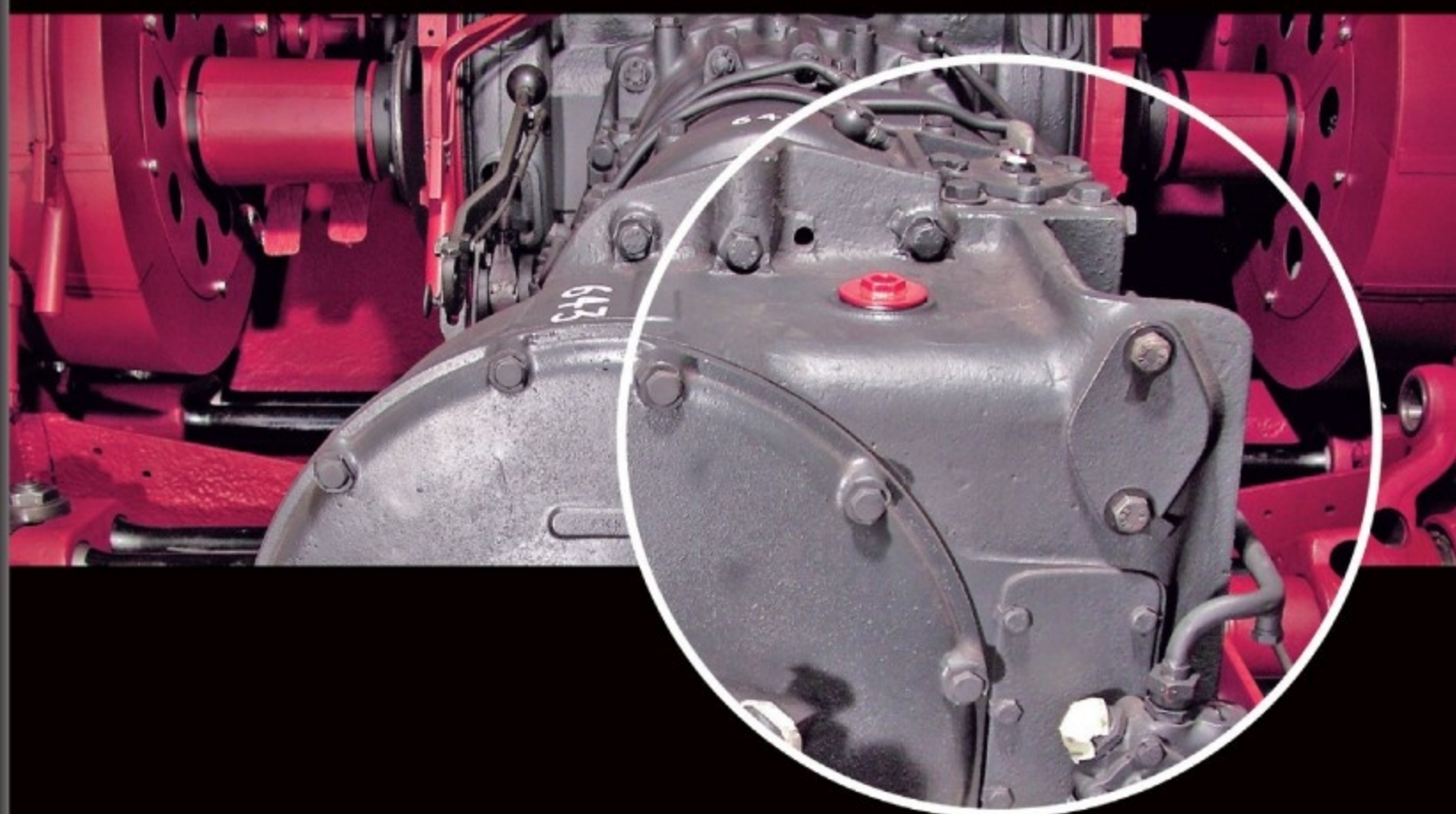
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# THE ULTIMATE PANTHER GUIDE

## THE RESEARCH SQUAD



## panther project

**1** VOLUME ONE - DRIVETRAIN AND HULL

The Wheatcroft Collection

The Research Squad (Lee Lloyd, Alisdair Johnson, Brian Balkwill) share a common passion to the preservation and restoration of items of historical interest. To this end we are working with The Wheatcroft Collection to publish a series of books on significant items and restoration projects. These include a Panther Tank, and S130, the last remaining German S-boat.

Our first publication - The Panther Project Vol 1: Drivetrain and Hull begins the photodocumentary series of books detailing the full restoration of a Panther tank at the Wheatcroft Collection. Our second book due for publication early in the new year -

Tiger: A Modern Study of Fgst. Nr 250031 - is a 160 page photostudy of the Tiger tank currently housed at the collection.

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[www.wheatcroftcollection.com](http://www.wheatcroftcollection.com)

[www.s130.co.uk](http://www.s130.co.uk)



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# Readers' Letters

MI readers are invited to write to the Editor. Letters should be addressed to: Tim Newark, Military Illustrated, 3 Barton Buildings, off Queen Square, Bath BA1 2JR. E-mail: [timn@fsmail.net](mailto:timn@fsmail.net)

## New Military Tournament

A new British Military Tournament will be presented at Earls Court, London, in December by ABF The Soldiers' Charity and will bring together all the best elements of the world famous Royal Tournament, incorporating them into a new show for the 21st century. The Tournament will take place on Saturday 4 and Sunday 5 December with two performances on each day. All proceeds from the event will go to ABF The Soldiers' Charity.

Narrated live by Anthony Andrews, with pre-recorded contributions from Joanna Lumley, Stephen Fry and Dame Judi Dench, The British Military Tournament will re-enact key events from the history of the British Army—from the English Civil War to the present day conflict in Afghanistan—



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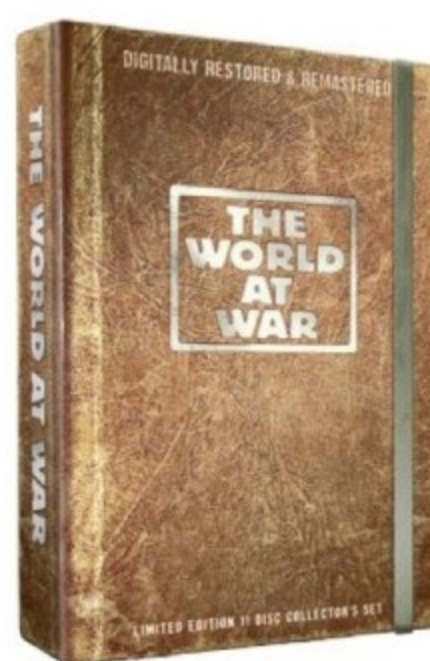
British Military Tournament 2010 will celebrate the 350th Anniversary of the formation of the Household Cavalry and the 150th Anniversaries of the Army Physical Training Corps and the Cadet movement.

For more details visit [www.britishmilitarytournament.com](http://www.britishmilitarytournament.com) or phone Earls Court Box Office: 0870 903 9033

## Restoration project

In the years since its initial broadcast, this BAFTA and Emmy award-winning series has had many imitators but 'The World at War' remains one of the most revered documentaries ever made. Now with the emergence of new technology, FremantleMedia are undertaking a comprehensive restoration project and will launch the series as it's never been seen or heard before. This painstaking restoration project is the largest of its kind for a television show,

using exclusive machines of which there are only two in the world—a level of restoration is usually associated with major film studios' classic titles. Each frame has been restored individually and the audio reconfigured and upgraded—on average each episode has over 140,000 fixes, making more than 3.6 million across the entire series! Also included and restored are the special presentations, giving a total running time of over 35 hours. RRP for the 11 discs



DVD release is £79.99 and the nine discs Blu-Ray is £99.99.

[www.TimNewark.com](http://www.TimNewark.com)



Cover: An American M5 light tank edges through a shattered French town.

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# THE RESEARCH SQUAD

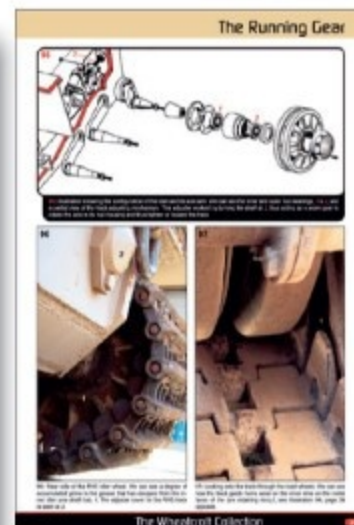
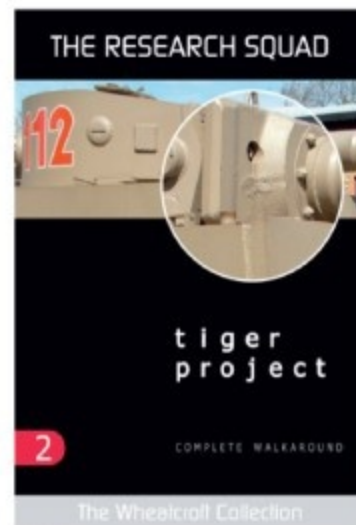
## The Panther Project Vol 1: Drivetrain and Hull £16.99

The first in a series of full colour volumes documenting the restoration of a Panther A at the Wheatcroft Collection. 88 pages, 360+ images covering radiator, engine and fighting compartments. Additional sections cover turret, fixtures and fittings, and recent developments



## Tiger: A Modern Study of Fgst. NR. 250031 £TBA

The first full colour photostudy of Tiger Fgst. 250031 currently housed at the collection. AT +/- 180 pages, it will cover the full exterior, interior and engine compartment and will include new diagrams and also colour images from original manuals. Release date early 2009



The Research Squad share a common passion to the preservation and restoration of items of historical interest. Our aim is to professionally research, document and publish studies on historically significant subjects in a variety of media. To this end we are currently working with The Wheatcroft Collection to publish a series of books on significant items and restoration projects.

One such exciting project is the restoration of S130, the last remaining WW2 Schnellboot. In partnership with Military Modelling International we will be bringing regular updates on the projects to the magazine.

Check out [www.S130.co.uk](http://www.S130.co.uk) website to follow the restoration!

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General George S Patton—Hitler's nemesis in France in 1944.

Before Hitler's Ardennes counter-offensive, the Nazi leader threw his new panzers into a desperate counter-attack in the Lorraine. ANTHONY TUCKER-JONES reveals how General Patton faced up to him.

**I**n the summer of 1944 in the wake of the Allied landings on the French Riviera, Adolf Hitler's Nazi forces were in full flight from southern France. He watched in dismay as his defences in the region became unravelled. To make matters worse, German resistance in Normandy was almost at an end. In the south, the swift advance of General Jean de Lattre de Tassigny's French 1st Army and General Alexander Patch's US 7th Army caught Hitler by surprise. Leaving Toulon and Marseilles to de Lattre, Patch's advance guard raced to reach the city of Grenoble on 22 August with the objective of linking up with elements of General George Patton's US 3rd Army near Dijon.

The sole remaining escape route for

Hitler's troops lay in the network of roads and rail lines in the 15-mile-wide Belfort Gap, between the Vosges Mountains to the north and the Jura Mountains to the southeast. Hitler despatched the 11th Panzer Division to Besançon on the evening of 5 September to cover the retreating German 19th Army moving into Belfort. Hitler's high command also ordered the 30th Waffen-SS Division to France. This arrived in Strasbourg on 18 August with instructions to hold the Belfort Gap and counter any Free French units operating in the area.

#### **No mincing words**

Colonel Hans von Luck from 21st Panzer, a veteran of the brutal fighting in

Normandy and around the ancient city of Caen, bumped into General Hasso von Manteuffel in the Vosges on 9 September. In their following discussions Manteuffel did not mince his words: 'The US 6th Army Group, including the French 1st Army is approaching from southern France and is supposed to join up with Patton. The remains of our retreating armies from the Mediterranean and Atlantic coast are still holding a wedge that extends as far as Dijon, but for how much longer?'

'The worst of it,' Manteuffel went further, 'is that Hitler is juggling with divisions that are divisions no more. And now Hitler wants to launch a panzer attack from the Dijon area to the north, in order,





An American gunner keeps a cautious eye out for the Luftwaffe – in fact it took little part in the Lorraine battles.



An American M5 light tank edges through a shattered French town. Patton was determined his 3rd Army should press on at all costs to stop the Nazis catching breath. Fuel shortages, rather than Hitler's panzers, proved to be his main obstacle.

as he likes to put it, “to seize Patton in the flank, cut his lines of communication, and destroy him.” What a misjudgement of the possibilities open to us.’

The German 1st Army, after retreating through France in August-September 1944, now fought a protracted defensive battle in Lorraine. With Army Group G and B streaming eastward, the German High Command had to do something dramatic to stop the rot. In particular they needed to gain valuable time in which to strengthen Hitler's so called Westwall defences before the Allies launched their assault on Germany itself.

Indeed, Hitler was hoping to decisively counter Patton, who was spearheading the Allies eastward drive into Lorraine posing a direct threat to the Westwall. However, until General Jacob L Devers' US 6th Army Group, pushing up from the south of France, could nip off the remaining bulge formed by the German 19th Army, Patton's left flank was precariously exposed.

Despite the failure of the Normandy Mortain counter-attack, Hitler remained convinced that his panzers could successfully envelop the advancing Allies. This view was based on the German Army's performance on the Eastern Front, where time and time again it had managed to snatch victory from the jaws of defeat; not on the reality of the situation in France where Operations Overlord and Dragoon were backed by overwhelming firepower on the ground and in the air.

Hitler hoped a blow against Patton would stop him getting into Germany and would prevent Devers' army group from linking

up with Bradley's 12th Army Group. To this end, he gave his forces in Lorraine priority. In contrast, the Allies were now at the end of their supply lines and Allied supreme commander Dwight Eisenhower's attention was focusing on Operation Market-Garden. This was intended to take Montgomery's 21st Army Group through the Netherlands and over the Rhine. Operations in the south were now just an unwanted distraction, though Patton was constantly calling for more fuel and ammunition.

Hitler's forces in Lorraine were on the whole under strength and of poor quality. Only the 16th Infantry Division with about 7,000 men was worthy of any note, the rest had been mauled in the fighting during the summer or were newly raised Volksgrenadier divisions which were of questionable value. Frightened recruits and weary veterans were not an ideal combination. In contrast Patton's divisions were largely up to strength and eager to press on.

### **Panzers mauled**

It was apparent Hitler needed to act quickly or lose the initiative. Gathering a number of newly raised panzer brigades, he planned to surround Patton using the battered 5th Panzer Army, which had only just recently escaped from the chaos of Normandy. Also General Johannes Blaskowitz, commander of Army Group G, was ordered to commit his only panzer division, the veteran 11th Panzer that was defending the Belfort Gap.

Hitler, as always obsessed with counter-attacking when such action was simply not

feasible, felt that the bridgehead west of Dijon, would not only provide a haven for LXIV Corps, but also provide a jumping off point for an attack on Patton's southern front. Blaskowitz, looking at his situation reports, doubted the counter-attack could succeed, while the ability to hold until LXIV Corps arrived was of even greater concern. He knew, however, that Hitler's orders could not be ignored and on 4 September instructed XLVII Panzer Corps into the Neufchateau region. This proved impossible in the face of attacks by the US XII and XX Corps.

Now under von Manteuffel, 5th Panzer Army was redeployed from Belgium to Alsace-Lorraine. The counter-attack was initially to involve three panzer grenadier divisions, 3rd, 15th (brought up from Italy) and 17th SS (from Normandy) and the newly raised Panzer Brigades 111, 112 and 113. They were to be supported by elements of the Panzer Lehr, 11th and 21st Panzer Divisions and the new Panzer Brigades 106, 107 and 108. On paper this sounded a credible force.

In total, Blaskowitz and Manteuffel were able to muster at most about 350 tanks, this amounted to barely three weak panzer divisions or a panzer corps, hardly sufficient for Hitler's optimistic plans. Against these, Patton could field 1,122 M4 Sherman medium tanks and M10 and M18 tank destroyers. In addition, 19th Army had just 165 artillery pieces; the rest lay scattered about southern France. The two German generals could see only one outcome.

Manteuffel's army was far from reconstructed following its defeat in



Normandy. The panzer forces were in a poor state, for example the 17th SS Panzergrenadier Division had been boosted with reinforcements from units as far away as the Balkans and Denmark. It was able to field just four Panzer Mk IVs and 12 StuG III assault guns. The 21st Panzer Division had also been mauled in Normandy and could only muster a few assault guns.

While the 11th Panzer Division was regarded as the best armoured unit in the region, it had lost a number of its tanks during its withdrawal from the south. For the Lorraine offensive, it would be able to field about 50 panzers, over half of which were Panthers. However, it would have to re-deploy before it could have any bearing on the fighting. In contrast the 3rd and 15th Panzergrenadier Divisions were in good order and up to strength. The former had a battalion of assault guns and the latter could field 36 Panzer Mk IVs, both also had had a battalion of powerful Panzer IV/70 tank destroyers.

While Nazi factories alleviated the critical shortage of panzers on the Western front following Falaise, there was little Hitler could do about his complete lack of experienced tank crews. In addition, his senior generals could see little point in raising new panzer brigades when the replacement panzers would have been better issued to the existing depleted panzer divisions.

Instead, the bulk of these new panzer brigades were raised from units that had been destroyed when the Red Army crushed Army Group Centre with Operation Bagration in June. For example, Panzer Brigade 106 was created around the tattered remnants of Panzergrenadier Division Feldherrnhalle. Also, the first batch of brigades only consisted of single tank battalions. Again it was felt the Eastern Front veterans would be better assimilated into existing units rather than new stand-alone brigades.

### Stroke of luck

By early September, with Blaskowitz's 1st Army now under General Otto von Knobelsdorff safely behind the Moselle, General Friedrich Wiese's 19th Army was holding Army Group G's front from Nancy to the Swiss border and stretching westward as far as the Loire. After the collapse in Normandy, Field Marshal Walter Model's Army Group B, with four armies, was trying to stabilise the situation defending northern France from the North Sea down to Nancy. Following Blaskowitz's successful withdrawal from southern France, Hitler was convinced of his abilities—Blaskowitz would



During the summer of 1944 with the Allies pouring across France, Hitler proposed to first counter attack in the Lorraine and then the Ardennes. In reality, he only had the resources to conduct the latter.

be the man to oversee a much-needed counteroffensive.

With the Allies preoccupied in the south of France, Hitler knew he need not worry about the Italian front. In fact, Field Marshal Kesselring was directed to relinquish his 3rd and 15th Panzergrenadier Divisions to France and the Hermann Goering Panzer Division to Poland. The two panzegrenadier units would form the core of Hitler's opposition to Patton's US 3rd Army push on the Upper Meuse.

Trying to delay the Allies, who were snapping at his heels, Hitler counter-attacked de Lattre west of Belfort along the Doubs River on 8 September and the French were driven back. In the meantime on the 20th, the US 45th 'Thunderbird' Division moved into position opposite Épinal, placing them between the 36th Division and Patton's US 3rd Army's XV Corps, which formed US 7th Army's left flank, while de Lattre's 1st Army was on its right. The 36th 'Texas' crossed the Moselle on the night of 20/21 September near Éloyes and despite German resistance by the 24th had secured a bridgehead from Remiremont to Jarmenil.

The 45th went over on the 21st/22nd and after some tough fighting seized Épinal. The 3rd Division was instructed to cross in the Rupt area to take Gerardmer near the Schlucht Pass and by a stroke of good luck seized a bridge before the Germans could blow it. By the last week of September, the whole of VI Corps was over the Moselle.

Although Patch was reinforced by Patton's XV Corps (79th Infantry and

the French 2nd Armoured Divisions), the weather conspired to bog down US 7th Army's advance; also it was short of fuel and ammunition. To make matters worse, both it and the French 1st Army lacked artillery as the Italian Front had been given priority. In the meantime, the Germans defences had improved—beyond the Forest of Parroy were trenches, anti-tank ditches and concrete bunkers. Some 2,000 troops from the 15th Panzergrenadier Division were entrenched within the forest. It would take the Americans a week of bitter fighting to drive them out.

Just as the Americans were losing momentum, Hitler planned to stop the US 3rd and 7th armies linking up by cutting off those forces pushing toward the Belfort Gap. This was to be done by a counterattack from Pontalier toward Plateau de Langres, scheduled for 12 September. In the event, with the Americans converging on Dijon, these plans were quickly derailed. Also, American military activity in the Nancy area soon thwarted Hitler's plans for an armoured counter-attack in Lorraine as Blaskowitz struggle to contain the US Army spilling over the Moselle. Although Hitler's counterattack was intended to cut off the US 3rd Army, Blaskowitz's was more concerned that it prevent an American wedge between his 1st and 19th armies.

Nancy was a lynchpin and in the subsequent fighting for the city, Blaskowitz was forced to commit his available armoured forces. Between Metz to the north and Nancy, lay the 3rd and 17th SS





**The German Army in France lost most of its armoured equipment in Normandy during August 1944. Once behind the Siegfried Line, Hitler swiftly re-equipped his battered panzer divisions and created new independent panzer brigades.**

Panzer Grenadier divisions respectively, while the 553rd Volksgrenadiers defended Nancy itself. Just to the south were deployed the 15th Panzer Grenadiers, then Panzer Brigade 112, 21st Panzer and Panzer Brigade 111. Panzer Brigade 113 along with 11th Panzer was near Belfort.

Under the growing strain, it was not long before Blaskowitz and Manteuffel were falling out. The 5th Panzer Army had to share control of the front with Blaskowitz's 1st and 19th armies, causing administrative headaches for von Knobelsdorff and Wiese. Nor were there enough telephones for command and control of the three armies, creating a far from ideal situation. When Manteuffel visited Blaskowitz on 11 September, both knew Hitler's plans were absolute nonsense.

### **Stop the rot**

General Walter Botsch, 19th Army's Chief of Staff, described their remaining troops as 'badly battered weak units and security forces, very poorly equipped with artillery and anti-tank material and in no position to resist the enemy.' Blaskowitz had no choice but seek authorisation to withdraw toward the

Vosges Mountains. In addition, the US 1st Army was bearing down on the German city of Aachen, causing Field Marshal von Rundstedt to redirect all available forces including Panzer Brigades 107 and 108. This meant that a third of the panzer brigade counteroffensive force was lost already. Rundstedt after being sacked over Normandy had found himself reappointed as C-in-C West in early September to try and stop the rot.

In the meantime, Panzer Brigade 106 was smashed trying to prevent the Americans from reaching the Moselle on 8 September. Two days later, the US 4th Armored Division and 35th 'Sante Fe' Infantry Division crossed the river south of Nancy in the face of fierce resistance by the 15th Panzer Grenadiers. The next day, the US 80th 'Blue Ridge' Infantry Division crossed to the north of the city and on the 13th they were counter-attacked by the 3rd Panzer Grenadiers with ten assault guns. That day, Blaskowitz gave the order to start evacuating Nancy now that his defences had been ruptured, with the 553rd Volksgrenadier Division covering the withdrawal.

Elements of General Leclerc's French 2nd

Armoured then crushed Panzer Brigade 112 at Dompierre southwest of Nancy and northwest of Belfort on 13 September. His Combat Command Langlade slipping between Kampfgruppe Ottenbacher and the 16th Infantry Division took control of the high ground overlooking Dompierre. Following an American air strike, Panzer Brigade 112's Panthers were hemmed in on three sides, (although German reinforcements in the shape of 45 Panzer Mk IVs from Panzer Regiment 2112 almost threatened to trap one of the French battle groups).

Luckily, a French roadblock formed by armour and anti-tank guns beat off reinforcements and by the end of the day the panzer brigade had lost 34 Panthers and the panzer regiment 28 Panzer Mk IVs. In total, Panzer Brigade 112 was reduced from 90 tanks to just 21 and suffered 1,350 killed and wounded; the survivors were placed under 21st Panzer. At least three Panthers involved in the Lorraine tank battles have survived to this day, including a Panther Ausf G preserved at the French tank museum at Saumur. The French 2nd Armoured Division captured this at Dompierre. Blaskowitz and Manteuffel had





**Heavy losses suffered by Army Groups B and G in France meant Hitler's forces needed time to recuperate. Despite a remarkable recovery, he simply did not have the capability to counter-attack in the Lorraine.**

now lost four panzer brigades before their counteroffensive had even started. The 5th Panzer Army was left with just two panzer brigades—the writing was clearly on the wall for Hitler's Lorraine operation.

Blaskowitz was well aware that he could not completely defy Hitler's plan to strike Patton's 3rd Army's southern flank, but the reality was that he no longer controlled the advanced bridgehead assembly area or had sufficient armoured units to mount such an operation. On the 14th, he let Field Marshal Rundstedt know that the proposed offensive by 5th Panzer Army was simply impossible, however he could counter-attack east of the Moselle river. Also, Blaskowitz was of the view that Metz would provide a good rallying point and as a strongpoint would hold Patton up until mid-December.

With the remaining German garrison at Nancy under threat of encirclement by the US 4th Armored, Blaskowitz threw the 3rd and 15th Panzergrenadiers into the counter-attack. They suffered heavy casualties and the US 80th 'Blue Ridge' rolled into the city on the 15th. Task Force Sebree from the 35th Infantry Division also entered

the city and found that the Germans had abandoned it.

### **Waste of men**

When Manteuffel's delayed counteroffensive finally got underway on 18 September, Panzer Brigade 113 ran straight into the Americans at Lunéville southeast of the city and was forced to disengage. The brigade was then redirected to attack towards Arracourt east of Nancy along with Panzer Brigade 111, though the latter became lost.

That night, Blaskowitz ordered Manteuffel to continue the attack in the morning, 'without regard to the losses already suffered or the crippled condition of the 113 Panzer Brigade.' Manteuffel, thinking of his troops, branded the attack an 'out right waste of men and material', knowing that Blaskowitz was sticking slavishly to the dictates of Hitler and his high command. In his chance meeting with Manteuffel, veteran Hans von Luck had damned Hitler's plan to attack Patton's flank as 'senseless, unrealistic and illusory'.

During the 19th, American tanks

and artillery knocked out 43 tanks, but Blaskowitz instructed Manteuffel to persist with the attack the following day. General von Mellenthin recalled: 'Our Panthers were superior to the American Shermans, but the enemy had very strong artillery and anti-tank support, and when the fog lifted enjoyed all the benefits of overwhelming air power. The German attack cost nearly 50 tanks and achieved nothing.'

Despite Blaskowitz's orders, Panzer Brigade 113 did little and 111 committed only a few companies to the fighting. There was now a danger that Patton would indeed drive a wedge between 5th Panzer Army and 1st Army and force its way to the Rhine. Blaskowitz held Manteuffel responsible for this mess, while the latter blamed the poor performance on the inexperienced panzer brigade crews. Hitler was so angry that his new panzer force had been squandered to no good effect, he sacked the unfortunate commander of Army Group G. Blaskowitz's other crime was quarrelling with Hitler's right hand man Heinrich Himmler, about the construction of second line defences.





General Patton's US 3rd Army had 1,122 tanks with which to fend off the 350 panzers of Hitler's ill-conceived Lorraine counter-offensive.

Mellenthin recorded with displeasure: 'On 20 September 1944, General Balck and I arrived at the headquarters of Army Group G, then situated at Molsheim in Alsace. It was our unpleasant duty to relieve the army group commander, General Blaskowitz, and his chief of staff, Lieutenant General Heinz von Gyldenfeldt. As we drove up to the headquarters, with the wooded crests of the Vosges rising above, I thought of my last visit to this region – the breakthrough of the Maginot Line... now I was chief of staff of an army group, which had barely escaped annihilation and was facing as difficult a crisis as could be imagined.'

Hermann Balck had been told by Hitler that Blaskowitz lacked offensive spirit; ironically Blaskowitz had made that very same accusation against Manteuffel. Balck was ordered to fight for time while Hitler prepared for his counteroffensive in Belgium and under no circumstances would those earmarked forces be diverted to Army group G.

Balck found Army Group G deployed as follows: General von Knobelsdorff's

1st Army in the Metz-Château-Salins area; General Hasso von Manteuffel with 5th Panzer Army defending the northern Vosges between Lunéville and Epinal; whilst Wiese's 19th Army was holding the southern Vosges and the Belfort Gap. Balck threw 1st Army into the attack on the 24th, spearheaded by the 559th Volksgrenadier Division and the remains of Panzer Brigade 106 west of Château-Salins. This was stillborn in the face of devastating American air attacks.

### **Patton's superiority**

By 25 September, 11th Panzer Division had arrived, but with the new panzer brigades cut to pieces, Manteuffel could only muster 50 tanks. For the attack north of Arracourt that day, 11th Panzer only had 16 panzers and two regiments of panzergrenadiers, but fought on for another four days against the US 4th Armored Division. The 559th Volksgrenadiers were also obliged to renew their attack against the US 35th Infantry Division.

The remains of Panzer Brigade 111 were

assigned to 11th Panzer, 112 to 21st Panzer and 113 to the 15th Panzergrenadiers. The US 3rd Army had now gone over to the defensive and American withdrawals enabled Manteuffel to occupy Juvelize and Coincourt east of Arracourt. German attacks on the 27th to take Hills 318 and 293 ultimately ended in failure, despite the best efforts of 11th Panzer, with the loss of 23 panzers.

By the end of the month, the confused fighting in Lorraine between Balck's Army Group G and Patton's US 3rd Army had become a general stalemate. Nonetheless, from an overall force of 616 panzers and assault guns committed in Lorraine, only 127 remained operational, though another 148 were repairable. Balck visited von Rundstedt at Bad Kreuznach on the 29th and informed him that Army Group G needed a minimum of 140 panzers as well as artillery, otherwise all its offensive operations would rapidly come to a standstill.

Rundstedt made it clear that Hitler was currently preoccupied with Aachen and Arnhem and that there would be





**Allied Supreme Commander General Dwight Eisenhower preoccupied by Montgomery's Market-Garden Op saw the fighting in the south as an unwanted diversion of resources.**



**The powerful American M10 tank destroyer was more than capable of taking on General Hasso von Manteuffel's Panthers and Panzer Mk IVs.**

no reinforcements. In response, Balck instructed Manteuffel to break off his attacks and withdraw the exhausted 11th Panzer in order to husband his dwindling resources. Thus ended Hitler's ill-fated and ill-conceived attempts to cut off Patton's spearhead.

In October, Army Group G lost the tough 3rd and 15 Panzergrenadier divisions, which were sent to the Aachen area, and was given an ill-equipped security division as a replacement. Manteuffel's 5th Panzer Army was also withdrawn ready for Hitler's surprise Ardennes offensive in December. The army group now had just 100 panzers with the exhausted 1st Army; the later mustered some 86,000 men, with seven of its eight divisions covering a 75 mile front; 11th Panzer acted as the only reserve with just 69 tanks.

To the south, US VI Corps launched its renewed attack on 20 October, following deception operations to convince the Germans that the assault would fall west of Le Tholy, south of Ramnervillers. The US 3rd Infantry Division came under heavy counter-attack and artillery bombardment, but by the end of the month it had captured 5,000 PoWs, along with the high ground overlooking the Meurthe River Valley in the St Die area. By now, US VI Corps main tasks were to bring its left and right flanks through 3rd Division's salient along the Meurthe, commit two newly arrived Infantry Divisions and then penetrate the Vosges passes and push to the Rhine.

Patton, with superior forces of three to one in men, eight to one in tanks and a huge advantage in artillery, struck on 8 November between Nancy and Metz with all the force he could muster. Although the Germans

were taken by surprise, the bad weather slowed Patton's advancing armour. The 11th Panzer Division counterattacked two days later, claiming 30 American tanks. Rescuing the shaken 559th Volksgrenadier division, it withdrew on Morhange.

The panzers counterattacked again on the 12th, capturing an entire American battalion. Although the Germans abandoned Morhange, Patton was forced to call a halt. On the night of 17/18 November, 1st Army withdrew leaving the ill-equipped 10,000 strong Metz garrison to its fate. The last of the city's forts did not surrender until 13 December. In the meantime, Leclerc's French armour rolled into Strasbourg on 24 November.

### **Operation Earthquake**

By 1945, with Hitler expecting a big Allied push over the Rhine, he did everything he could to stiffen the defences of this vast natural barrier. His generals felt the Allies would strike down stream of Emmerich, so Blaskowitz, now commander of Army Group H, deployed the stronger of his two armies, the 25th under General Günther Blumentritt there. General Alfred Schlemm's battered 1st Parachute Army was left to cover the 45 miles between Emmerich and Duisburg.

To the south by 10 February, the German 19th Army's LXIV and LXIII Corps had suffered in excess of 22,000 casualties and lost 55 armoured fighting vehicles and 66 artillery pieces. The LXIV Corps' five divisions suffered heavy losses, in particular the 2nd Mountain Division lost 5,700 men killed, captured and wounded and the 198th Infantry Division escaped with just 500 combat troops, with over 1,000 captured.

Further south, LXIII Corps divisions suffered similar fates. The long-suffering 19th Army was all but spent.

Operation Undertone the offensive to clear the Saar-Palatinate triangle south of the River Moselle, representing the third stage of the Allied advance on the Rhine, was launched on 12 and 15 March respectively. The triangle was a major German salient jutting out into the Allies line, which was held by Army Group G now under SS General Paul Hausser. He had lost control of 19th Army after its evacuation from the Colmar Pocket, but still retained General Hans Felber's 7th Army and General Hermann Foertsch's 1st Army.

Patch opened his attack with the 3rd and 45th Divisions along with the 3rd Algerian Infantry Division. In a parallel assault, Operation Earthquake, the 3rd Division attacked near Rimling and within half an hour had passed into German territory. The US VI Corps job was to clear northern Alsace and drive along the Rhine Valley. Three days later, the 42nd and 103rd divisions had crossed the German frontier. The 3rd Algerian Division, support by the 5th French Armoured Division, were given the job of seizing Lauterbourg and the crossings over the Lauter.

Patton's 3rd Army crossed the Moselle on 13 March, then on the night of the 22nd he further stole Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery's thunder by throwing the US 5th 'Red Diamond' Infantry Division across the Rhine at Nierstien and Oppenheim, south-west of Frankfurt. By the evening of the 24th, Patton had seized 19,000 prisoners. South of Koblenz, Patton's US VIII Corps across the Rhine River at Boppard and St Goar at 0200 on the 26th.





**Divisional maintenance was vital in keeping American tanks in action—in contrast the Germans increasingly had to abandon their panzers on the battlefield.**



**An American howitzer crew helps break up a German attack. In the Lorraine the Germans suffered a shortage of almost everything including artillery and ammunition.**

By late March, Patch's US 7th Army in conjunction with Patton's push from the north had overrun the Saar-Palatinate triangle. The region was in chaos and the German 1st and 7th armies had lost 100,000 prisoners in the space of two weeks. They had gone from controlling 23 divisions to losing 74 per cent of their combat effectiveness in one stroke. In the meantime, the US 7th Army's zone west of the Rhine had been cleared of German resistance. They crossed at Worms on 26 March, allowing a breakout towards Darmstadt.

By early April, 19th Army was of little more than divisional strength, with about 10,500 combat effectives; holding the

Siegfried Line and the Black forest it was at risk of being outflanked. The German 1st Army was facing the US VI and XXI Corps with just 7,500 troops. The German 7th Army, in even more dire straits with a combat strength of just 4,000, was also forced back by the US 3rd Army and US 7th Army's XV Corps.

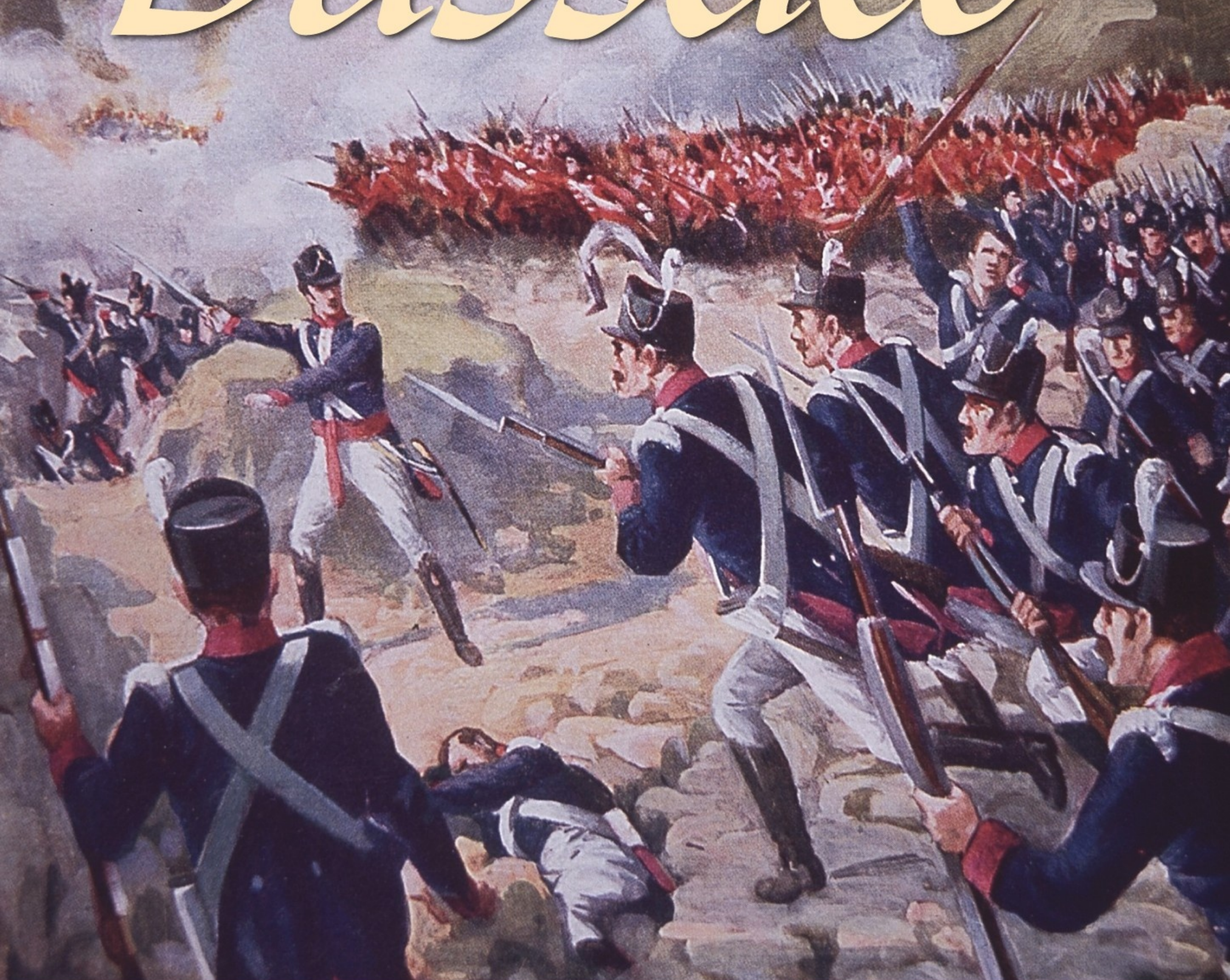
With the end now in sight, the only real front line on the Western front ran from the Löwenstein Hills to Nuremberg. This was held by a motley collection of 15,000 men supported by 100 panzers and self-propelled guns and 20 battalions of artillery. On 22 April, the Americans and the French 1st Army reached the Danube, which was

followed by an attack on the city of Ulm.

The German 1st Army, under General Foertsch, could muster less than 500 combat effectives, supported by about 7,000 SS troops by the 1 May 1945. Likewise, 19th Army, commanded by General Erich Brandenburg, with a strength of just 3,000 men did not have any divisions capable of effective defensive combat. The latter formally surrendered at 1500 on 5 May to the US VI Corps and the French 1st Army, that day Foertsch also surrendered his command to the US 3rd Infantry Division. Ultimately, the panzers in Lorraine had done nothing to stop the Americans' triumphal advance •



# *First Blood at Bussaco*



Two hundred years ago this month, Wellington confronted the might of Napoleon's imperial forces in Portugal. ANDREW BAMFORD recounts how the allied army was tested in battle.



**A**t the outset of 1810, France seemed to have at last gained the upper hand in her struggle to subjugate the Iberian Peninsula. The Anglo-Spanish offensive of the previous summer, designed to recapture Madrid, had failed in its strategic objectives, despite battlefield success at Talavera. Then, over the autumn, the bulk of Spain's remaining field armies had suffered a series of defeats as the French pushed southwards into Andalusia.

The year 1809 had also seen the Emperor Napoleon defeat a resurgent Austria, restoring a fragile peace to central Europe and allowing the redeployment of French forces to the Peninsula. There, the primary French objective for 1810 would be an invasion of Portugal and the elimination of the Anglo-Portuguese army commanded by Lt General Lord Wellington. With Portugal out of the war and the British deprived of their base at Lisbon, a successful invasion would leave the French free to concentrate on crushing the last areas of Spanish resistance and ultimately enable them to bring the whole of the Peninsula into Napoleon's Continental System.

### **Voracious womaniser**

It was initially expected by both sides that Napoleon would return to the Peninsula in person to command the offensive against Portugal, but the political situation in Europe remained unstable and at least some of the Emperor's attentions were diverted by his new wife, the Habsburg archduchess Marie-Louise. Instead, Napoleon sent one of his most experienced subordinates, Marshal André Masséna, to command the newly formed Armée de Portugal tasked with carrying out the invasion.

Born in 1758, Masséna had distinguished himself during Napoleon's Italian campaigns in the 1790s, and then won renown as an independent commander in Switzerland and Italy during 1799 and 1800. In 1805, he again commanded in Italy, whilst in 1807 and 1809 he commanded a corps in Napoleon's Grande Armée. With three full army corps and powerful reserves of cavalry and artillery, Masséna's Armée de Portugal was on paper an impressive command that significantly outnumbered the Anglo-Portuguese field army assembling under Wellington.

Masséna in his heyday had undoubtedly been a great general, but many contemporaries felt that by 1810 he was losing his touch. To some extent he may have been suffering from exhaustion and the effects of various wounds sustained in



**Brigadier Robert Craufurd, commander of the Light Division, oversaw the allied rearguard as Wellington withdrew to Bussaco and helped defeat the attack of Ney's VI Corps.**



**Marshal André Masséna, Prince d'Essling and Duc de Rivoli, commander of the French Armée de Portugal at Bussaco.**

service – the most extreme of these being, ironically, the loss of an eye in a shooting accident at the hand of Napoleon himself – but these factors may well be exaggerated: certainly, they had not affected his performance in 1809.

On the other hand, Masséna's new command would be dogged by poor relations between the commander and his subordinates, and these were in no small part down to Masséna's own character. Having risen to great prominence from humble origins, Masséna had taken the opportunity to acquire considerable wealth, much of it by dubious means. He was also known as a voracious womaniser, even by the generally lax standards of his contemporaries. Yet much of the negative interpretation of Masséna and his character comes from after-the-fact writing by those who were involved in what was ultimately a failed campaign, and at the outset the French situation seemed positive. Only as the advance began to bog down would the tensions and recriminations begin to surface.

So far as Napoleon was concerned, the only real obstacle to Masséna's march on Lisbon was the 30,000-strong British army under Wellington. The armed forces of Portugal he rated as no threat at all, no doubt recalling the first French invasion of 1807 when the Portuguese had been utterly unable to prevent the French occupying the whole country. Yet throughout 1808 and 1809, the Portuguese had shown persistent gallantry and steadily increasing levels of military skill. Left to defend their homeland when Wellington took his British troops to Talavera, the Portuguese had completed a

wholesale reorganisation masterminded by their new British Commander-in-Chief, Lt General William Carr Beresford, who had been made Marshal of Portugal.

For the campaign of 1810, the Portuguese could field 24 regiments of infantry, each of two battalions, and six single-battalion regiments of Caçadores or light infantry. Shortage of horses meant that only half of the 12 regular cavalry regiments could take to the field, the remainder being utilised as dismounted garrison troops, and the same restrictions restricted the bulk of the Portuguese artillery to a similar role. Sensibly, Wellington had fully integrated the Portuguese with his British troops, forming divisions that contained brigades from both nations and seconding able British officers to command Portuguese formations.

### **Scorched-earth policy**

By bringing the Portuguese into the field, Wellington was able to roughly double the size of his regular forces, but these only formed part of a multi-layered defensive scheme. The first obstacle for Masséna would be the border fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida. Although he appreciated that it would entail the eventual loss of the garrisons, Wellington expected that the need for the French to conduct lengthy siege operations to subjugate the fortresses would delay the beginning of their advance into Portugal itself. Thereafter, his field army would conduct a fighting retreat in conjunction with a scorched-earth policy, whilst partisan forces would open an irregular war in the French rear. Thus, the deeper the French pushed into





**Général de Division Jean-Louis-Ebénézer Reynier** commanded the II Corps of the Armée de Portugal at Bussaco, and was responsible for the attack against the San António de Cântaro sector defended by the allied Third and Fifth Divisions.



**French light infantry.** Reynier's II Corps included four regiments of these troops, who helped clear Picton's skirmishers from the slopes above San António de Cântaro but were unable to carry the ridge itself.

Portugal, the harder it would be for them to feed their forces and the more troops they would have to detach to protect their supply lines.

The final layer of Wellington's strategy was the construction of the great Lines of Torres Vedras around Lisbon, forming a fortified area into which the army could withdraw and leave the French to starve outside. Wellington's strategy was complex, and relied on the absolute cooperation of the people of Portugal, but it offered a

formula by which a smaller, untested, army could hope to defeat a larger veteran force.

Whilst Wellington perfected his defensive arrangements, Masséna began methodical preparations for his advance. In order to protect his northern flank, VIII Corps under Général de Division Andoche Junot was sent to capture Astorga whilst II Corps under Général de Division Jean Reynier was pushed out to the south around Coria. Each of these army corps comprised two infantry divisions and a brigade of cavalry. Meanwhile, Marshal Michel Ney's powerful VI Corps, three divisions strong, was tasked with carrying out the sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida. Heavy guns from Général de Division Jean-Baptiste Eblé's artillery reserve were brought up to bombard the fortifications whilst the three dragoon brigades comprising Général de Division Louis Montbrun's cavalry reserve helped screen operations.

Whilst the siege forces were numerically slightly inferior in strength to Wellington's field army, the British commander knew that venturing out onto the plains around the fortresses was too big a risk to take with his untested army: the more so since Junot and Reynier were close enough to support Ney if needs be. Instead, Wellington assigned Brigadier General Robert Craufurd's Light Division to watch the frontier and do what it could to aid the beleaguered garrisons.

On 9 July 1810, after a siege of over two months, the Spanish garrison at Ciudad Rodrigo finally capitulated. Ney now moved to open operations against the Portuguese outpost at Almeida, first driving off Craufurd's covering force in a bloody action on the River Coa on 24 July. However, any hopes that the garrison would resist for as long as that of Ciudad Rodrigo were dashed when, on 26 August, a lucky French shot detonated the fortress' main magazine. The resulting explosion not only caused heavy casualties amongst the garrison but also deprived them of almost all their powder. Further resistance being impossible, Almeida surrendered the following day. Having secured control of the border fortresses, Masséna was now able to concentrate his army for the advance into Portugal.

Because a French force moving from Almeida against Lisbon had to remain north of the Tagus, Wellington could concentrate the bulk of his forces along the relatively narrow corridor by which he knew Masséna would have to advance. This route ran southwest along the Mondego valley via Celorico and Coimbra, and thence nearly due south to Lisbon. The only uncertainty was whether Masséna would

move north or south of the Mondego.

Wellington had expected that the French would take the easier road along the south bank of the river, but instead, Masséna turned his army northwards onto the longer and more arduous route via Vizeu. This did not, however, represent some subtle French strategy: instead, it was indicative of the utter ignorance of the French high command of the topography of the country they were trying to invade. Masséna genuinely seems to have believed that he was taking the easiest line of march towards Coimbra, his next objective.

Whilst Wellington had no great expectation of being able to turn the French back short of Torres Vedras, he had always intended to fight delaying actions if the opportunity arose. In expectation that Masséna would take the easier, southern route, Wellington had had earthworks thrown up to contest the crossing of the River Alva where it flowed into the Mondego. Masséna's decision to go north handed Wellington an even better defensive position—the great ridge of the Serra do Bussaco, which lay directly across the path of the French advance.

Extending for over nine miles, the Serra rose to a height of 1,200 feet above sea level and its steep slopes were broken by scrubland and patches of trees. Furthermore, whilst these features made it difficult for any attacking force to retain cohesion, the summit of the ridge took the form of a plateau anything up to a quarter of a mile wide: this enabled easy lateral movement on the part of the defenders. This was an important advantage for Wellington, whose 52,000 men could not cover the entire nine-mile stretch. Instead, he intended to hold the most vulnerable points in strength and rely on being able to send reinforcements along the ridge faster than the French could push attacking troops up it.

### **Riding with mistress**

By the time its vanguard approached the Serra do Bussaco, Masséna's army was already feeling the effects of Wellington's scorched earth strategy. Supplies were running short, and communications were already under attack by Portuguese irregulars and militia. The French were also suffering due to the very poor state of the road they had chosen, and one of the consequences of this was to bring to the fore the bickering and jealousies amongst the French high command. Masséna, true to form, had brought his current mistress – Henriette Leberton – with him on the campaign, rather fancifully dressed as an officer of





**Although it exaggerates the terrain, this depiction of the fighting at Bussaco clearly shows the vulnerability of the attacking French columns as they reached the crest of the ridge.**

dragoons, but she was unable to ride on the bad roads and had to be transferred to a carriage. Senior officers – including Ney and Junot – who already felt affronted at their commander's flaunting of his lady, now muttered that it was Henriette's charms that kept Masséna from the front line.

Again, however, it is hard to separate the malicious gossip of later years from the realities of 1810. Certainly, Masséna was not riding at the head of his advance guard but he was the commander-in-chief of a large army and had competent subordinates to deal with such things. To castigate Masséna in this regard is as illogical as to criticise Wellington for not spending his entire time amongst Craufurd's riflemen in the allied rearguard.

On 24 September, the outposts of the two armies clashed for the first time at Mortagoa, some miles east of the main Bussaco position. The allied rearguard under Craufurd contested the advance of Reynier's II Corps long enough to inflict a delay, and then fell back when French reinforcements arrived. Thereafter, the

lead elements of Ney's and Reynier's corps pushed forwards until they reached the base of the Serra do Bussaco. Ney, ever the man for a neck-or-nothing assault, sent word back to Masséna requesting permission to attack on the morning of the 26th. Masséna refused, preferring to wait until his whole force was up, and thus gave added material to the gossips who claimed that his primary attentions were elsewhere.

In hindsight, however, Masséna was correct to delay. Ney believed, wrongly as it turned out, that Wellington's whole army was not yet in position but even if this had been the case the French were deep in enemy country and it risked too much to commit part of the army to an uncertain battle before the remainder was in a position to support it. Throughout his career, Masséna had been a calculator rather than a gambler, and so it was before Bussaco. There would be no attack on the 26th—the day would be spent concentrating the Armée de Portugal in preparation for an assault the following day.

Having had time to assemble and position his army at leisure, Wellington had come up

with a deployment that, though necessarily lengthy, allowed for mutual support. On the far right of his line, down to where the heights ended above the Mondego, were the British Second Division under Rowland Hill, and a Portuguese Division of two brigades commanded by the British Major General Hamilton. These forces would prevent any attempt to turn Wellington's position from the south. To their left, James Leith's Fifth Division, with one British and two Portuguese brigades, was strung out over several miles of ridge to form a link with the main body of the allied army, which was concentrated to defend the two passages over the Serra. The first of these was a minor track that rose from the village of San António de Cântaro and passed over a saddle in the ridge where the crest was a little lower: this position was defended by Thomas Picton's Third Division.

Further to the north, the main road to Coimbra passed through the village of Moura and ascended the lower slopes of the Serra before swinging northwards to gain height, passing above the hamlet of Sula, before turning back west to reach





**William Carr Beresford, the British general appointed Marshal of Portugal in 1808 and tasked with reorganising the armed forces of that country. Bussaco would be the first real test for the reorganised Portuguese army, and they would acquit themselves nobly.**

the summit of the ridge just north of the Bussaco Convent. This sector, including Sula, was defended by the Light Division and the independent Portuguese brigades of Pack and Coleman. Linking this position to that held by Picton, Brent Spencer's First Division extended itself along the ridgeline south of the Convent grounds. Lastly, to prevent the French turning the allied line by attacking from the north, Lowry Cole's Fourth Division, supported by Campbell's Portuguese brigade and the infantry of the King's German Legion, formed the far left of Wellington's position. Plentiful artillery support was provided along the line, but, other than two squadrons of the 4th Dragoons deployed behind Spencer, the allied cavalry remained well to the rear.

### **Behind the crest**

Because of the height of the Serra, it was not possible for the French to view the full extent of Wellington's

position. Nor was it possible for them to see allied troops that were stationed behind the crest, which may have been why Ney erroneously believed that the ridge was lightly defended and could have been seized on the 26th. What Masséna and his generals could see was Craufurd's command on the forward slopes above Sula, and elements of Cole's, Spencer's and Picton's Divisions. The presence of Leith, Hill, and Hamilton does not seem to have been appreciated: certainly Masséna's planning took no account of them.

This plan called for a two-pronged attack, with the left-hand prong, formed by Reynier's II Corps, leading. Reynier was tasked with seizing that portion of the ridge held by Picton, which was assumed by Masséna to be Wellington's far right. Having seized the crest, Reynier was to swing northwards to roll up the allied line. As Reynier's men reached the

crest, Ney was to launch a direct attack up the Coimbra road, with the intention of smashing straight through what Masséna assumed to be the centre (in fact, centre-left) of the allied line. Junot's VIII Corps would form a reserve to be used as required, but, like Wellington, Masséna could find no employment for his powerful cavalry force in the broken terrain. Also unemployed was the bulk of the French artillery, which was unable to elevate sufficiently to range against the allied positions.

In effect, the events that followed the French advance formed two separate battles, and although the second had begun before the first was over, it is logical to follow each in isolation. As per the plan, Reynier began the attack with his two divisions under Généraux de Division Merle and Heudelet. The latter was tasked with advancing directly up the track from San António, whilst the former was to attack a little to the north where the crest again dipped slightly. The morning of 27 September dawned foggy, with the valley bottom largely concealed from the defenders on the Serra. As a result, it was not possible to shift troops northwards from the allied far right, compromising Wellington's plan to shift reinforcements to threatened areas.

As the French pushed up out of the mist, all that was initially available to oppose them was the light companies of the Third Division. This resistance, and the steepness of the climb, caused the French to lose cohesion and begin to slow down, but Reynier's corps contained a high proportion of light infantry and the French skirmishers steadily pushed their British and Portuguese opposite numbers up the slope.

On the left of the II Corps attack, Heudelet had broken his division into regimental columns, sending one regiment forwards and with a second in support, but, on Reynier's orders, holding the other two back as a reserve for the whole corps. Merle, on the other hand, attacked with all three regiments of his division closed up, with the three regimental columns in close supporting distance. In the mist, Picton failed to appreciate the size of this latter force, and sent only a small reinforcement to assist the one-and-a-half battalions in Merle's path. Thus, the first head-on confrontation of the battle would pit just over 2,000 allied troops against three times as many Frenchmen.

The British defenders were under the command of Lt Colonel Wallace of the 1/88th (Connaught Rangers), who had his own battalion and half of the 1/45th (1st Nottinghamshire) at hand. A little to the south, Colonel Douglas was bringing up the



two battalions of the 8th Portuguese, but it was Wallace's Britons who would be the first to face the French. However, Merle's men had been climbing without the aid of even a track, and as the leading battalions reached the crest of the ridge they were both exhausted and disordered. Realising that his only chance was to counterattack at once before the French were able to regroup and gain a lodgement on the ridge, Wallace led his battalion in a charge against the flank of Merle's leading regiment, the 36eme Ligne. As he did so, Douglas' Portuguese completed their deployment and opened fire in support.

By this time, both Picton and Wellington himself, who had been some distance to the north, realised the danger and dispatched reinforcements, including two cannon. By the time help could arrive, the French had already begun to waver. As the 36eme recoiled, they tumbled back into the ranks of the other two regiments of Merle's division, the 2eme and 4eme Légère. Soon, the whole division was in retreat back down the slopes with the victorious allies in pursuit. Only when they came in range of Reynier's corps artillery did Wallace and Douglas cease their pursuit and return to their positions on the crest. In a struggle against odds of three to one, the allies had defeated Merle's attack and inflicted over a thousand casualties upon his three regiments at a loss of less than 400 of their own men.

### Volley fire

Meanwhile, Heudelet's division had been pushing home its attack to the south. Leading the assault was the 31eme Légère, four battalions strong, but its supporting unit, the 47eme Ligne, was some distance to the rear whilst Foy's brigade was held back on Reynier's orders. The 31eme was a fine regiment, largely recruited in those parts of northern Italy that had been annexed to France, and had earned a good reputation during its service in the Peninsula. Nevertheless, without the support of the rest of Heudelet's division, a single regiment stood little chance of success. As the men of the 31eme came into view of the defenders, they were met not only with skirmish fire from the allied light companies but with shot from the Portuguese batteries of da Silva and Friere—these guns were only light 3-pounders, but there were 12 of them and they cut swathes through the ranks of the French column. Then, as the 31eme breasted the ridge they were met with the volley fire of the 74th Foot and the Portuguese 21st Infantry—around a thousand muskets in total. Already



**The terrain at Bussaco prevented either side employing cavalry in any numbers, and Masséna's powerful reserve of dragoon regiments, including the 26eme shown here, were not engaged. Nor, to the French discomfiture, were they able to discover the road by which it later proved possible to pass around the Cerro do Bussaco—had they done so, the battle need not have been fought.**

disordered by their climb and by the artillery fire, and with their Colonel amongst the regiment's 296 casualties, even the veterans of the 31eme could not stand for long and were soon in full retreat down the slope.

Over half of Reynier's command was now in retreat, with Merle's division routed whilst the cut-up 31eme Légère was still in reasonable order but in no state to continue the fight. Hoping to restore the situation, Reynier ordered the two regiments of Foy's brigade, held thus far in reserve, to launch a second attack. Foy chose to direct his brigade, composed of the 17eme Légère and 70eme Ligne, at a point where the crest was at its lowest. This section of the ridge had the added advantage that it lay between the targets of the two previous assaults and thus was initially more lightly defended because troops had been drawn away to help defeat Merle.

In all, only five British companies – that

part of the 1/45th that had not been involved in the repulse of Merle – and the two battalions of the Portuguese 8th Infantry were initially opposed to the seven French battalions. Picton sent two more Portuguese battalions to their aid as soon as he recognised the threat, but one of these was the Thomar Militia, which, lacking the training and discipline of the Portuguese regulars, could not be made to stand. By this time, however, Hill had begun to move up from the south and close up with the allied main body, and this in turn allowed Leith to bring the rest of the Fifth Division up to support the defenders above San António.

Exactly what happened next is the subject of some controversy, with Picton and Leith each producing contradictory reports in which each gave his own men credit for the repulse of the French. Certainly, Foy's men were able to gain a position on the crest of the ridge, but what happened





**British and Portuguese troops in combat with a French force. The distinctive false-fronted shakos worn by the Portuguese infantry are apparent, as are the crested helmets worn by their cavalry.**

then is less clear. Picton, who was not on the spot, believed that Foy had already been checked before Leith even arrived. Leith, on the other hand, claimed that Foy was still pushing the defenders back and that it was only when his leading brigade – three British battalions under Lt Colonel Barnes, with the 1/9th (East Norfolk) in the lead – was able to deploy on the French flank and bring Foy's columns under fire that the advance was halted.

Both generals did agree, however, that it was a combined offensive by Barnes' men and the remaining Portuguese that chased the French back down the slopes and thereby ended Reynier's hopes of being able to carry out his part in Masséna's plan. Despite the subsequent bickering of their generals, caused in part by Picton and Leith each believing that they had turned back the most dangerous threat to the allied line without having seen what the other's troops had been facing, the men of the Third and Fifth Divisions had done an excellent job of turning back a superior French force. With only a single regiment fit for action, Reynier was unable to make any further contribution to the battle, and such French hopes as remained now rested upon the potential success of Ney's ongoing struggle away to the north.

Tasked with attacking straight up the

Coimbra road, Ney placed one of his three divisions on each side of the highway, retaining the third in reserve. On the right of the attack, Général de Division Louis Loison was tasked with capturing the hamlet of Sula and then pushing onwards to take the position defended by the Light Division: on the left, Général de Division Jean Marchand was to attack directly up the slope towards the Bussaco Convent. The attackers numbered some 13,000 men, but as with II Corps to the south they were greatly hampered by the nature of the terrain. To make matters worse, not only did Ney's men share all the disadvantages inherent in an uphill attack against such precipitous heights, but in addition a steep ravine separated the two attacking divisions and rendered mutual support impossible.

### **Point-blank range**

Although they had the easiest climb of any of the French attackers, the men of Marchand's division never stood a chance of reaching their objective in the face of massed allied artillery fire. Nevertheless, the four attacking regiments continued to push forwards, and the two leading units – the 6eme Légère and 69eme Ligne, under Général de Brigade Maucune – even managed to deploy from column into line and engage

Pack's Portuguese brigade in a firefight. However, the Portuguese remained steady despite several French attempts to push them back, and, at length, with Maucune wounded, the brigade withdrew. Marchand's second brigade had not been so heavily engaged but still suffered some 300 casualties from artillery fire. Since there were three fresh British brigades in support of Pack, it was clear that a direct attack against the Convent was impossible and Ney therefore pulled Marchand's division out of the fight.

In contrast to Marchand, Loison had a more difficult stretch of terrain to attack over, but in numerical terms he held the advantage with 7,000 men against the 3,600-strong Light Division. Furthermore, alone of the attacking divisions, Loison had at least a measure of artillery support since Craufurd's command was partly deployed on the forward slope of the ridge and vulnerable to direct fire. To Craufurd, however, his forward position was a calculated risk since it allowed him to contest control of the Sula hamlet and thus delay any attack against him.

Craufurd therefore deployed three whole battalions as skirmishers – 1/95th Rifles and the 1st and 3rd Caçadores – and these were further supported by the 4th Caçadores detached from Pack. Faced



with such a dense skirmish line, Loison was forced to deploy whole battalions of his own as skirmishers, with each such deployment in turn weakening the strength of his attacking columns. The French were eventually able to capture Sula, but only after a hard fight. Furthermore, once the village had fallen, its defenders simply withdrew up the slopes and continued to harass the French advance.

Having cleared the village, Loison reformed his division into two attacking columns and continued his push forwards. As they advanced, they came under fire from the artillery batteries of Ross and Cleaves, which between them were able to bring down a heavy crossfire on the attackers. Craufurd also had the remainder of the Light Division – 1/43rd (Monmouth) and 1/52nd (Oxfordshire), two strong battalions of veteran light infantry – held in reserve under cover of a sunken lane in support of Ross's guns. As Loison moved his men forwards to take the battery, Craufurd swung these two fresh battalions, 1,700 strong between them, across the head of Loison's columns and deployed them into line.

At point-blank range, the redcoated light infantry delivered a devastating volley that cut down the leading French troops and stopped the attackers dead in their tracks. Before the French could recover, the extremities of Craufurd's line wheeled inwards and began to fire into the flanks of the reeling columns. As Loison's leading battalions broke, they carried away those behind them and the whole division was soon tumbling back in disarray. A single detached battalion was driven off by fresh Portuguese troops from Coleman's brigade. As for the rest, they were chased back down the slope by Craufurd's men, leaving 1,252 casualties behind them. Général de Brigade Edouard Simon, badly wounded by the volley that had smashed his brigade, was one of the many prisoners scooped up by the men of the Light Division as they pushed back down the ridge to reoccupy their old positions around Sula.

With the repulse of Loison and Ney's recall of Marchand, the fighting at Bussaco effectively ceased. Outpost firing continued around Sula for the rest of the day, with Ney committing part of Mermet's fresh division in order to maintain the pressure on Craufurd. Yet it was clear to the French command that any further attempt to carry the Serra do Bussaco would only end in failure and further losses. Masséna had both divisions of VIII Corps still unengaged, along with one regiment of II Corps and three from VI Corps, but he made no attempt to mount a further

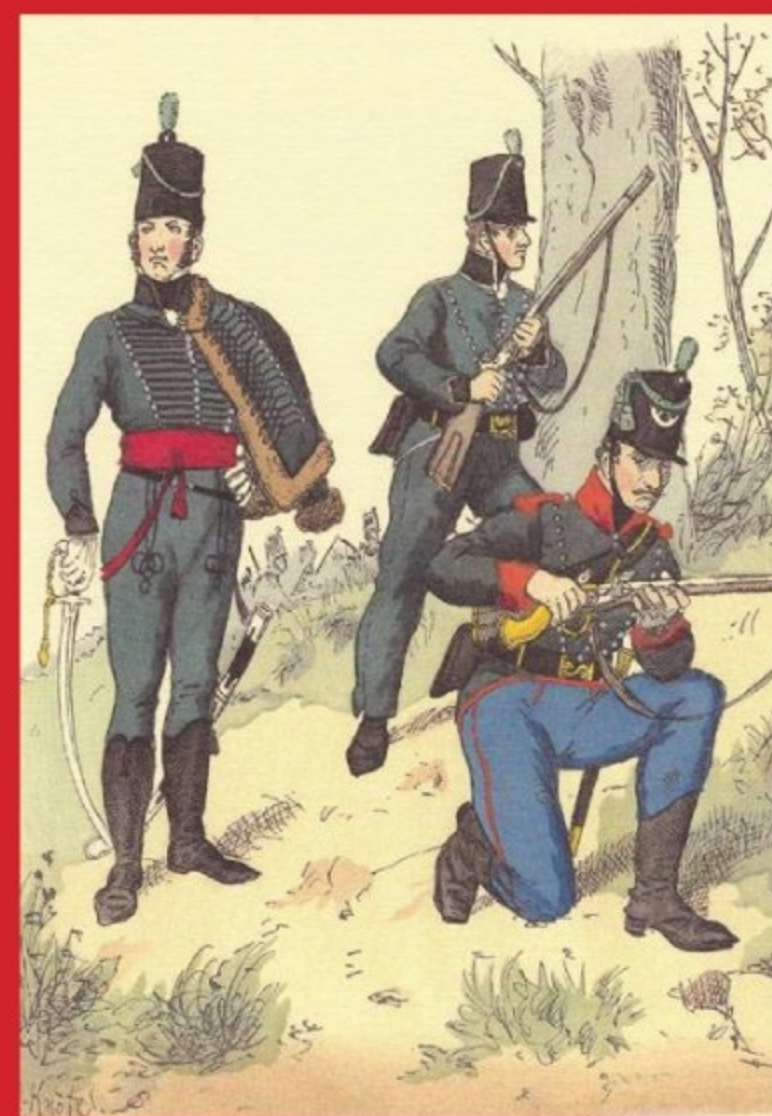
infantry assault.

Based on incomplete returns, it would seem that total French losses amounted to in the region of 4,600 killed, wounded, or prisoners. The allies, on the other hand, lost 1,252 officers and men. By strange coincidence this figure was exactly equally divided between the British and Portuguese – 626 men from each army – which more than anything stands testament to the vital role played by the Portuguese troops. Although the Thomar militia battalion did break and run, the regular Portuguese battalions performed with both courage and skill and the battle of Bussaco marks a distinct coming of age for the reformed Portuguese army. Thereafter, Wellington's command would indisputably be an allied rather than a British army, with troops of both nations playing an equal part for the remainder of the war.

In the immediate sense, however, the effects of Bussaco were less decisive. Wellington had given the Armée de Portugal a bloody nose, but this was by no means sufficient to turn the French invasion back in its tracks. Nor would it be possible for the allies to hold the Serra do Bussaco indefinitely. Although it did bar the main road to Coimbra, there were other side roads by which the French could pass around the ridge and thus turn the allied position. Indeed, had it not been for the utter inadequacies of his maps and intelligence service, it is unlikely that Masséna would ever have chosen to attack the ridge at all. Yet even allowing for the limited French knowledge of the local geography, some criticism must fall on Masséna for failing to utilise his cavalry in order to scout for a way around the flanks of the allied position.

Other than a half-dozen squadrons assigned to protect the lines of communication, Masséna's horsemen all remained in reserve before and during the fighting. Although it would seem – again, the waters here are clouded by the post-facto contributions of various memoir writers – that the French staff were already aware of a route around the north of the Serra do Bussaco before the battle took place, it was only upon the day afterwards that a cavalry reconnaissance was able to confirm this. That night, the Armée de Portugal broke camp and marched north under the cover of darkness.

In response, the allies fell back. Before they left Coimbra, much of the supplies and provisions there were either evacuated or destroyed. When Masséna entered the town, he found little there to succour his army and pushed onwards, leaving only a small garrison to guard the wounded from



**British riflemen—the men of the 1/95th (left and centre) fought under Craufurd's command at Bussaco, whilst those of the 5/60th (right) were distributed amongst the infantry divisions to bolster their skirmish lines.**

Bussaco. Any last hopes that Coimbra could serve as a French advanced post were dashed on 7 October, when Portuguese militia, commanded by the British Colonel Nicholas Trant, swooped down on the French garrison and hospital. Several thousand sick and wounded Frenchmen were taken prisoner, some being killed out of hand by the vengeful militiamen, and the work of destruction begun by the retreating allies was completed.

Trant's attack on Coimbra, and the withdrawal of the allied army within the Lines of Torres Vedras on 10 October, essentially completed the first phase of Wellington's strategy for the defence of Portugal. The existence of the Torres Vedras fortifications had come as complete surprise to Masséna, who quickly realised that here was an obstacle far more formidable even than the Serra do Bussaco. Having seen at first hand the steadfastness of Anglo-Portuguese infantry in a strong position, it was clear to the French commander that force alone would not succeed in taking Lisbon, and the defeat of a forced reconnaissance around Sobral on 12 October confirmed this. The Armée de Portugal would remain outside the Lines all winter, with its commander calling repeatedly for reinforcements that could not be spared. Meanwhile, the allied army, full of confidence after its victory at Bussaco and steadily being reinforced by fresh redcoat battalions from Britain, waited for the moment when it could advance and begin the work of driving the weakened French forces from the soil of Portugal •





Buenos Aires harbor was the focus of wartime espionage, sabotage and courier networks. German agents photographed and cataloged every ship, gathered information for U-boat targeting, infected livestock with glanders virus before shipment, and planted bombs and incendiary devices for mid-ocean detonation. (Library of Congress)

# SECRET WAR IN LATIN AMERICA

German agents played dangerous games of espionage and sabotage in Mexico and South America during World War One. JAMIE BISHER exposes their dirty work.

**A**t dusk on 31 July 1914, a landing party from the German light cruiser SMS Karlsruhe charged ashore in Port-au-Prince waving small arms and lugging machine guns. It was just another episode of Caribbean gunboat diplomacy until the German ambassador to Haiti abruptly appeared and halted them halfway down the wharf. He spoke briefly to a huddle of sailors, then the assault force strolled nonchalantly back to the ship. US sailors aboard the battleship Connecticut watched the surreal event in amazement. A short while later, Karlsruhe sailed into the night. About 500 miles east, Karlsruhe's sister ship SMS Dresden hurriedly took on 800 tons of coal in the Danish Virgin Islands and slipped over the horizon as the sun sprawled across a world at war. She soon rendezvoused

with Karlsruhe on the high seas, shared the precious coal and vanished—both ships' whereabouts a mystery until they attacked British freighters days later. Thus the European war came to the Americas before the diplomats even finished issuing hostile declarations against one another.

## War chest

Germany had anticipated the global war that would erupt in August 1914, and began allocating resources to intelligence operations in the Americas many months prior. Frederick Jebesen, for example, was a German naval reserve officer who arrived in the United States on clandestine assignment for the Admiralstab in 1912. The athletic, gregarious 23-year-old bachelor spoke good English and quickly assimilated into the melting pot of immigrants around the San Francisco

waterfront. No one questioned his mysterious source of wealth when he bought a tramp steamer named SS Mazatlan. Jebesen was one cog in a hemispheric naval intelligence machine—the Etappendienst der Marine—that was complemented by overlapping military and diplomatic networks.

The German Embassy in Washington played a lead role in launching the intelligence war throughout the Western Hemisphere. In July 1914, the German ambassador to the US, Johann Heinrich Count von Bernstorff, was summoned to Berlin nine days after the Sarajevo assassination for secret consultations with the intelligence directorate of the Supreme Army Command. Von Bernstorff was given responsibility for espionage, sabotage, propaganda and arms purchases in the Americas. When he returned to Washington on 2 August, he was carrying



an astounding \$150,000,000 in German Treasury notes (the equivalent of about three billion dollars today). Armed with this war chest, von Bernstorff and staff orchestrated an aggressive secret war for the next two and a half years.

Berlin instructed von Bernstorff to make do with local resources. Most German intelligence officers were deployed against Great Britain, France and Russia. Fortunately for Germany, von Bernstorff was blessed with capable assistants who thrived on intrigue. The military attaché, Captain Franz von Papen had just transferred from Mexico City on July 30; the naval attaché, Captain Karl Boy-Ed, brought recent experience with the Navy Department Intelligence Office; and commercial attaché Dr Heinrich Friedrich Albert was a seasoned lawyer cunning enough to handle the financial and legal intricacies of covert affairs. This trio opened offices in New York City. Meanwhile, German diplomatic missions and consular bureaus were suddenly immersed in intelligence activities. Embassies in Mexico City, Havana, Guatemala City, Caracas, Lima, Santiago, Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires coordinated regional webs spun between consuls in ports and provincial capitols. Austro-Hungarian diplomatic and expatriate communities were similarly mobilized and merged their resources under German command. Merchants and businessmen of both empires throughout the Latin American republics were drawn into the nascent secret war whether they liked it or not. By mid-August 1914, active intelligence outposts of the Central Powers dotted the map from Seattle and New York to Buenos Aires and Punta Arenas.

At Captain Boy-Ed's command, a legion of dormant Etappendienst agents arose from peacetime jobs in German shipping companies, freight forwarders and other firms involved in international commerce. They immediately plunged into a variety of covert naval support roles: relaying German communications, intercepting Entente communications, stocking colliers to supply warships and raiders, facilitating the passage of reservists to their duty stations, and other mundane yet sensitive chores.

At the far end of the hemisphere, Captain August Moller, naval attaché in Buenos Aires, scurried to mobilize dozens of ships of German-owned companies in Argentina, Chile, Peru and Brazil to relay coal and supplies to Vice Admiral Maximilian Graf von Spee's roving East Asiatic Squadron, which was moving east across the Pacific.

In ports around the hemisphere, German



The training department of the US Military Intelligence Division in Washington in May 1918. (National Archives and Records Administration)

operatives frantically adapted civilian vessels to wartime functions. In San Francisco Bay, Frederick Jebsen subtly transformed his steamship Mazatlan about 4 August. A Mexican flag replaced her German standard while a painter changed the homeport emblazoned on her stern from 'HAMBURG' to 'LA PAZ'. This legally dubious change of identity was also a risky transformation, since Mexico was convulsing in civil war and anarchy, and Mexican-flagged vessels were prone to be confiscated by warring parties in the Pacific waters that Mazatlan regularly plied. On the other hand, German vessels now sailed at risk of seizure by the British, French and Japanese navies. At the time, however, no one even noticed the changes on an innocuous vessel like Jebsen's.

Meanwhile in Buenos Aires, Captain Moller was scrambling to convert the opulent ocean-liner Cap Trafalgar into an armed raider. However, Argentine law and the watchful eyes of British diplomats forced Moller to arrange the retrofit in a remote location. Cap Trafalgar sailed out of Argentine waters for an unknown destination and insurance rates soared for British steamers departing for Europe. Both the grand Cap Trafalgar and the humble Mazatlan were destined for international notoriety in coming weeks.

German merchantmen laden with coal and victuals hastily departed US ports cleared by false manifests for Latin American destinations. Starting 5 August, German freighters sailed from New York, Newport News and Philadelphia for mid-ocean rendezvous with warships. Their

true destinations were kept secret, even from the crews. A supercargo was placed aboard each ship with secret instructions and authority to give navigating instructions to the captains. This complex operation was coordinated by Captain Boy-Ed and executives of Hamburg-America Line in New York, and their counterparts in various Latin American ports.

### Global battleground

The Allies—Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan—realized that the Americas were already part of the global battleground in August 1914. By 5 August, HMS Glasgow was ready to sail into battle from Rio de Janeiro at a moment's notice, though the ship hardly looked seaworthy. The crew had stripped her exterior of all flammable wood, giving her a raggedy appearance. Royal Navy Reservists in Brazil flocked to the ship and were signed onto the crew, including scores of stokers from freighters in the harbour and a surgeon from Sao Paulo. British naval superiority was felt deep in the Latin American interior during the first days of the war. On 6 August, a German consular official boarded a steamer 200 miles up the Parana River and told 400 reservists to go back to Paraguay—the British naval blockade was already too tight for them to slip through. By the time Mazatlan left California waters in mid-August, Fred Jebsen's tramp steamer was the focus of British intelligence agents, US Customs investigators and New York Times reporters. The German cruiser Leipzig



had just created a sensation with a hectic one-night port call in San Francisco, and British protested that Mazatlan intended to shadow the warship and serve as a collier. Jebesen had to post a special bond to depart US waters, then avoid Japanese and French cruisers scouring the eastern Pacific for German men-of-war and auxiliaries. The Allied stranglehold on shipping soon extended to German commerce, finance and communications.

German expatriates quickly realized their glum predicament. In metropolitan Buenos Aires, 30,000 Germans, South America's densest concentration, closed ranks in patriotic solidarity despite political differences between rich and poor, aristocrats and working class, with the exception of the socialist association *Vorwärts*, which 'denounced the war as a capitalist crime against civilization.' Prominent commercial figures gathered in the city's German Club in early August to chart a course of action with Captain Moller and other diplomats. Similar meetings convened at elite German Clubs in other capital cities, and at more humble venues in Latin American ports and mountain towns. Overseas organizations that received support from Berlin were mobilized—the Pan-German League, German Navy League, League for Germanism Abroad, German School League, German Rifle Club and others.

A bitter duel between ships of the Cunard and Hamburg America lines presaged the viciousness of the economic war. In peacetime, the crews of HMS *Carmania* and SMS *Cap Trafalgar* would have risked their lives to save each other without a second thought. Now pressed into wartime service, stripped of their luxuries, bolstered by naval crews and outfitted with heavy guns, the 600-foot long ocean liners fought to the death off the Brazilian coast on 14 September. In an intense hour and a half battle at full speed under a broiling tropical sun, *Carmania* was set ablaze but sank *Cap Trafalgar* and left about 300 German survivors wallowing in shark-infested waters, doomed if not for the appearance of the brave collier *Eleonore Woermann*. War in the Americas pitted European companies as well as citizens against each other.

### German marauders

By October 1914, German marauders prowled the trade routes linking the Americas with the rest of the world. Any ship flying an Allied flag or carrying cargo manifested to or from an Allied country was a target, and the prey included family-owned barques as well as steel-hulled merchantmen of big shipping



By summer 1917, Buenos Aires was Germany's primary intelligence center in the Americas. Japanese intelligence launched South American operations from a diplomatic mission on Avenida de Mayo in late 1917. (Library of Congress)

lines. Cruisers *Dresden*, *Karlsruhe*, *Kronprinz Wilhelm*, *Leipzig* and *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* haunted Eastern Pacific and South Atlantic sealanes. They owed their success to the support of the *Etappendienst* in the Americas.

The Germans' phantom supply and intelligence corps enabled their marauding strategy on the high seas. The superiority of Great Britain's Royal Navy prevented the German's from establishing secure bases overseas, so it became a master of clandestine logistics. The *Etappendienst* coordinated rendezvous of raiders with covert colliers for hasty supply operations in remote locales like Easter Island, the Juan Fernandez and Galapagos chains in the Eastern Pacific, the archipelago of Trinidad and Martim Vaz in the South Atlantic, and the labyrinth around the Magellan Straits. Captains Boy-Ed and Moller orchestrated the complex symphony of communications, intelligence and logistics with a network of intelligence officers, agents and consuls. Covert support for just two cruisers, *Dresden* and *Gneisenau*, involved no less than 20 freighters operating out of several different ports in Peru, Chile and Argentina. 'It is very noteworthy with what ease the German [naval] ships maintained their supplies without the vestige of a base,'

marveled a British intelligence analyst. 'In fact, strange as it may seem, it was their lack of a base which enabled them to last so long.'

The Royal Navy hunted feverishly for von Spee's squadron and found them. The showdown transpired 40 miles west of Coronel, Chile on 1 November 1914 and finished when British cruisers *Good Hope* and *Monmouth* sank beneath the stormy seas with an admiral and 1,600 green reservists and cadets. Two days later, three of the victorious warships sailed into Valparaiso, Chile to the rousing cheers of German settlers and interned mariners. Laden with gifts, flowers and fruit, they sailed away on 4 November reinforced by dozens of German-Chilean reservists and hailed by a jubilant cacophony of horns and whistles. The Allies accused neutral Chile of being 'a moral ally' of Germany.

In a world dominated by a half-dozen European empires, Latin America was a bastion of independence with 20 nominally independent nations. Each represented a political and economic prize to Europe's belligerent parties. As the outlook for a quick war dimmed, the foreign ministries of the European belligerents realized that they needed the support, or at least the acquiescence, of Latin American governments. Secret diplomacy supplanted



gunboat diplomacy and other forms of imperial bullying. Despite their neutrality, the American republics were drawn into the European maelstrom.

Berlin's most ambitious secret project in 1914 was a relief expedition from Latin America to German Southwest Africa. The beleaguered colony was sandwiched between two hostile states, Portuguese Angola and the Union of South Africa. Nine days after the victory at Coronel, a German intelligence officer in Valparaíso, Reginald Westendarp, began scrambling to coordinate the ships and 2,000 men for the expedition. Consuls summoned German reservists to assemble in Chilean ports, particularly Puerto Montt. The men assumed that they were bound for the Western Front, and even Count von Bernstorff was not informed of their destination. In Santiago the genial German minister, Friedrich von Erckert, coaxed the Chileans into looking the other way.

Admiral von Spee's marauding fleet barreled into the South Atlantic in the first days of December 1914, confident, stocked with coal and provisions delivered by the Etappendienst colliers. Their target was Port Stanley in the Falkland Islands, a Royal Navy staging area. The Germans intended to destroy the communications station and send landing parties ashore to torch the

coal dump and kidnap the British governor. Unbeknownst to von Spee, British warships were also rushing to the Falklands. On 8 December, the British avenged their humiliating Coronel defeat and sank von Spee's flagship Scharnhorst and three other cruisers. Only Dresden escaped.

Despite the Falklands defeat, preparations for the German Southwest Africa relief expedition continued. In late December 1914, Berlin authorized representatives in Buenos Aires to purchase Mausers and cartridges from the Argentine government through a Swedish front company. Men familiar with the Southwest African coast were designated as supercargoes aboard expedition vessels. On 8 February 1915, the lead German ship, SS York, took on coal in Valparaíso for the voyage while reservists settled their personal affairs. The expedition awaited one final crucial element—a naval escort.

SMS Dresden, sole survivor of von Spee's fleet, was busy evading the Royal Navy dragnet. In the meantime, British Naval Intelligence intercepted and decrypted German communications that revealed the relief expedition, and Royal Navy men-of-war began a vigil off Valparaíso. Soon the Germans scrubbed the mission and the reservists trudged back to their farms and shops. By mid-March, the South African

Army swarmed into German Southwest Africa, and the Dresden was cornered and sunk at a secluded island 400 miles off the Chilean coast. Although the ship rested on the Pacific floor and the crew was confined to an internment camp in Chile, Dresden's men had not surrendered.

### German terrorism

The secret war in the Americas turned from the seas to the US after the last German auxiliary in the Atlantic, SMS Kronprinz Wilhelm, sought shelter in Norfolk, Virginia in April 1915. From this time forward the only surface vessels that Germany could call upon in the South Atlantic were foreign mercenaries hired by German naval intelligence.

German intelligence launched a widespread sabotage campaign in January 1915. From the German Embassy in Washington, Captain Franz von Papen orchestrated the movement of reservists throughout the Americas, smuggling some to Germany through European neutrals on false passports and assigning others to special missions, espionage and sabotage. He himself handed reserve lieutenant Werner Horn a check for \$700, a suitcase full of explosives and a ticket to Vanceboro, Maine with orders to blow up a Canadian Pacific Railroad bridge that straddled the border. The bumbling saboteur, until recently the manager of a Guatemalan coffee plantation, botched the February mission, was arrested and became the villain of newsreels about German terrorism that shocked cinema audiences throughout the hemisphere.

In the first half of 1915, German intelligence organized cells of agents and saboteurs throughout the Americas. They were recruited from expatriate communities and interned ships, augmented by individual 'traveling agents' and pro-German mercenaries like Boer veteran Fritz Duquesne, a multi-lingual jack-of-all-trades who scouted Central America. An undercover officer in New York, Captain Franz von Rintelen, a former Deutsche Bank representative in Latin America, aimed to foment war between Mexico and the US. He was soon apprehended but fortunately for Germany, Mexican-US relations were already volatile in the wake of the seven-month US occupation of Veracruz that ended in November 1914. Mexico sank into a bloody free-for-all between revolutionary factions in early 1915. German agents eventually courted them all with offerings of guns, money and expertise.

Mexican intelligence was more industrious than the Germans in provoking



The Western Front's insatiable appetite for men made the movement of expatriate reservists from the Americas to Europe a top priority. (Library of Congress)



a war with the US. In early 1915, General Alvaro Obregon led the revolutionary army of Venustiano Carranza to recapture Mexico City and pushed other competing factions to the geographic and political peripheries of the country. However, Carranza needed US recognition to buy the arms necessary to pacify Mexico. Thus his intelligence service cleverly adopted the Plan of San Diego, a radical scheme of murky origin supposedly concocted by a small cell of disenfranchised Mexican-Americans from the town of San Diego, Texas. The Plan became a carrancista psychological warfare prop that was successfully manipulated to influence foreign relations with the US. In its various forms, the manifesto called for the convocation of a Liberating Army of Races and Peoples made up of Mexican-Americans, African-Americans, Native Americans (Indians) and Japanese who would rebel in the states of Texas, Mississippi, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, California, Nevada, Utah and Colorado, exterminate all adult white males, and form a new republic.

Guerrillas began attacking southern Texas in July 1915, torching railroad trestles, cutting telephone and telegraph lines, shooting up passing trains and murdering a small number of white farmers. The secrecy of Carranza's involvement wore thin with the capture of bewildered Mexican soldiers and the identification of Mexican officers' corpses on US soil. Leaders of the raids lived openly in towns under carrancista control. Obviously the Plan of San Diego was a secret operation of the Mexican government, not a self-supporting guerrilla movement. Nevertheless, on 19 October 1915, a pragmatic President Wilson recognized the Carranza government and the cross-border attacks stopped abruptly.

US recognition and support of 'First Chief' Carranza enabled him to corner and defeat his bitter rival Pancho Villa at the November 1915 battle of Agua Prieta, Sonora. Villa was reduced to a ragtag guerrilla but his pre-dawn raid on Columbus, New Mexico on 9 March 1916 returned him to center stage. For one hour and a half, 500 villista cavalrymen fell upon the sleeping border town until a small US Army garrison and armed residents repelled them. The raid killed 18 Americans, left about 75 Mexican dead, and roused the US public from its stupor. Within days the public outcry in the US compelled President Wilson to send Brigadier General John J 'Blackjack' Pershing and the 5,000-soldier Mexican Punitive Expedition to hunt down Pancho



Revolution and civil war in Mexico engaged intelligence operatives of several political factions, Germany and the US. These young 'rebel spies' were probably lynched by forces of dictator General Huerta in Veracruz in April 1914. (Library of Congress)

Villa. The possibility of reconciliation between Wilson and Carranza was poisoned.

### Secret offer

Carranza was steering Mexico on a pro-German course even before the Pershing expedition. Six weeks before Villa's attack on Columbus, Carranza accepted a secret offer for 32 German officers—expatriates and stranded reservists—to be seconded to his service. German-owned firms cozied up to the Mexican regime, while German consuls avidly courted local and regional military commanders. By summer 1916, German military and intelligence advisors were dispersed throughout Mexico. The Mexican and German secret services had become active partners.

The Mexican foreign intelligence service concerned US officials. In addition to the embassy in Washington, Carranza's government had consular offices in 24 US cities from New York to San Francisco that were bases of espionage, smuggling, propaganda and other covert activities. They could command agents, hire from desperate refugee communities or tap the loose network of undercover operatives that had grown out of revolutionary gunrunning, munitions supply and money-laundering rackets since 1910.

Trouble on the Mexican border spurred outmoded and undersized US intelligence organizations to modernize and grow. Nationwide the Bureau of Investigation (BOI—forerunner of the FBI) expanded

from about 100 agents to 300 agents, and more than 40 BOI agents and 'special employees'—mostly spies and informants—were deployed to the border area, while many others were assigned to New Orleans, where hired guns and arms shipments often assembled before shipment to Mexico and Central America. The BOI and US Army commenced signals intelligence and cryptanalysis operations, and warships on patrol along Mexico's Caribbean and Pacific coasts augmented their diligent reporting with increased support for naval intelligence-gathering operations. The US State Department's Office of Counselor became the clearinghouse for intelligence, although it ran few operatives itself. The bulk of its information came from 22 US consular officials scattered around Mexico, and an agent network of foreign merchants, consuls and other informants run by an industrious Customs official in El Paso named Zach Cobb. Necessity compelled US intelligence units to collaborate.

Carranza reactivated the Plan of San Diego in response to the Pershing expedition. His favorite general, Pablo Gonzalez, an orphan and former street peddler, directed the 'Texas Revolution' from a secret headquarters in Mexico City. At least seven or eight Japanese military advisors took part in operations on the border under the command of Carranza's nephew. General Gonzalez contrived to incite mutiny in African-American army regiments, and dispatched black agents

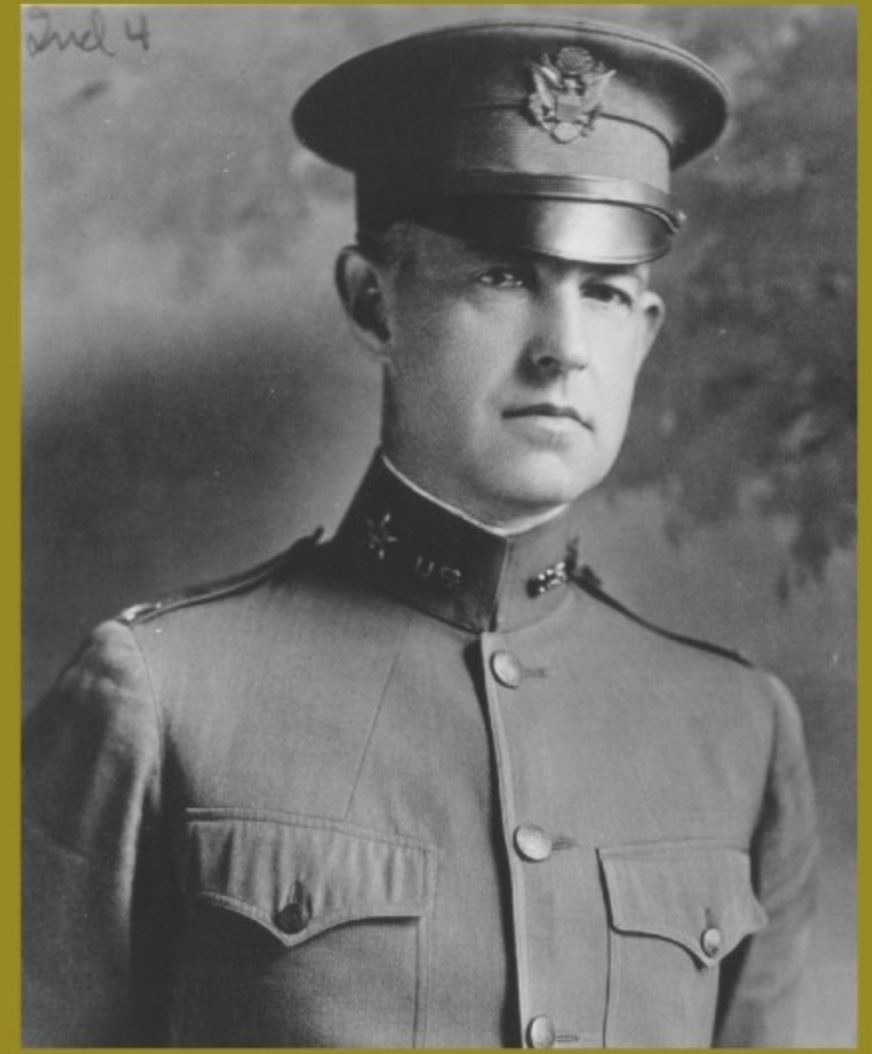




Lieutenant Frederick Jebson was a German naval intelligence officer sent to the US in 1912. He bought a small freighter, SS Mazatlan, and supplied German cruisers in the Pacific from August 1914 until about April 1915. (National Archives and Records Administration)



Kurt Jahnke was a naturalized US citizen, veteran of the US Marine Corps and a private detective with an unsavory reputation before he became an intelligence advisor to the German Consul in San Francisco. He took part in the 1916 Mare Island and Black Tom blasts, and many other acts of sabotage in the US. (Library of Congress)



Brigadier General Marlboro Churchill, a distant relative of Winston, became chief of the US Military Intelligence Division in June 1918. (National Archives and Records Administration)

provocateurs like Canadian William Gleaves and US doctor Jesse Mosley. By mid-June 1916, Gonzalez' guerrilla attacks in south Texas brought Mexico and the US to the brink of war—111,000 US troops mobilized along the Rio Grande from Brownsville to Rio Grande City. Carranza backed down and sent a note of apology to Washington on 4 July, but mischief simmered along the border for many months more.

### Tremendous blast

German sabotage in the US left trails back to Latin America, though many were not detected until years later. On 30 July 1916, German intelligence officers including SMS Dresden Lieutenant Lothar Witzke destroyed a huge Allied arms shipment at New Jersey's Black Tom terminal in a tremendous blast that killed at least two people and caused 22 million dollars damage in Manhattan. They feted their success in a two-day bacchanalia at a Manhattan safehouse attended by several German reservists from Venezuela and elsewhere in South America.

The German-Mexican courtship blossomed into an intimate relationship in late 1916. Carranza's ambassador in Berlin, Rafael Zuburán Capmany, secretly proposed a bold new treaty to German foreign secretary Arthur Zimmermann, a pact that would modernize the Mexican Army with German weapons and instructors, expand the Mexican Navy, and construct munitions factories and a radio communications

station to link the two capitals. Meanwhile, German agents in Mexico scouted facilities to support U-boats. US naval intelligence sent agent John Duhn down Mexico's Pacific coast to investigate. He reported German officers drilling local troops in Baja California, a German training camp for Villa guerrillas near Guaymas, a high-ranking German in Sinaloa, a German seconded to Mexican military intelligence in Tepic, and widespread cooperation between Germans and Japanese agents. In Manzanillo in early February 1917, Duhn photographed the unloading of guns, ammunition, machinery and uniforms from SS Kotiharuru Maru. The material and about 80 Japanese technical advisors were transported to Mexico City by an Austro-Hungarian who was General Obregon's chief engineer.

Japan's secret activities in Mexico came as little surprise to US intelligence, but Japanese connivance with Germany worried the Allies. If Japan could be enticed to shift her allegiance to the Central Powers, Russia would be compelled to withdraw forces from the Eastern Front in Europe and rush them to block a Japanese invasion from Manchuria, with catastrophic results for the British, French and Belgian armies on the Western Front. As a result, Japan's friendship was a strategic prize and the object of constant maneuvering by European intelligence officers and diplomats in Mexico, Chile, Argentina, Denmark and Sweden.

Secret diplomacy between Mexico, Germany and Japan set the stage for the greatest intelligence feat of the war—the

Zimmermann telegram. Dated 19 January 1917, the telegram forwarded instructions from Arthur Zimmermann to German Minister Heinrich von Eckardt in Mexico City to propose an alliance between Mexico, Japan and Germany in case Berlin's resumption of aggressive submarine warfare pushed the US to war. The instructions suggested that the alliance would help Mexico 'to reconquer lost territory in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona.'

On 5 February 1917, Royal Navy Admiral 'Blinker' Hall revealed the intercepted cable message to a skeptical Foreign Office in London. While the Foreign Office pondered the veracity of the telegram, Admiral Hall acted fast to protect British Naval Intelligence's priceless secret that Room 40 was tapping and decoding German communications. Hall had to make it appear as if the telegram had been compromised after decoding in the Americas. To do so, British operatives had to obtain a hard copy of the telegram sent from Ambassador Bernstorff in Washington to von Eckardt in Mexico City. It took three tense weeks to acquire this priceless sheet of paper.

Success hinged upon 'Mister H', supposedly an agent of British Naval Intelligence in Mexico City. Decades later, 'Mister H' was revealed to be Tom Hohler, London's chargé d'affaires who had cultivated an asset in the Mexican Telegraph Office. When the telegram was published in US newspapers in early March 1917, it seemed so preposterous that the public believed it was a brash





Seen here on the Hudson River in 1909, SMS Dresden preyed upon merchant ships in the Caribbean and South Atlantic during the first months of the war. (Library of Congress)

forgery planted by British intelligence. The Pershing expedition had withdrawn from Mexico weeks before and the public was weary of Mexican problems, but Zimmermann's suggestion to reconquer western states infuriated Americans. The US declared war on the Central Powers on 5 April 1917, compelled by the Zimmermann telegram and Germany's unrestrained submarine attacks on civilian ships.

### Burning question

Modern warfare begat new genres of intelligence. President Wilson's first wartime executive order instituted censorship that touched all forms of communications, journalism and entertainment. He assigned censorship of overseas telegraph and telephones to the War Department and of submarine cables to the Navy Department, encompassing most international communications to and from Latin America except German radio transmissions from Nauen. Economic warfare efforts evolved into the powerful War Trade Board, which built its own army of intelligence analysts and foreign representatives. Financial intelligence was born when the State Department hired a Wall Street insider to trace flows of German money and investments around the hemisphere. The BOI herded suspicious Germans into internment camps and the Justice

Department launched aggressive domestic counterintelligence. Foreign intelligence fell mostly upon the Military Intelligence Division (MID) and Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI), whose roles, resources and clout expanded exponentially. By mid-1917, the modern US intelligence establishment had begun to coalesce.

The burning question in Washington was whether or not the Germans already had secret submarine bases or support facilities in Mexico or Central America. The answer would determine fleet deployments and the extent of costly security measures for merchant ships, such as rerouting, convoys, escorts and armed guards. German naval intelligence had indeed laid the groundwork for logistics bases in the Americas. Carranza's Mexico welcomed them, and governments in Guatemala, Costa Rica, Colombia and Venezuela could conceivably have been enticed to go along, too. Fortunately for ONI, in March 1917, archaeologist Sylvanus Morley and a few anthropologists familiar with Mexico and Central America offered to survey the coast for German activity. By the end of the year, ONI could conclude that U-boats were not docking in the Americas, and that mercenary merchantmen were supplying them at sea.

Most German intelligence operatives fled the US to Latin America as 1917 wore on. In Mexico the roster of German

intelligence officers and agents swelled, but they accomplished little of strategic value. Saboteurs planned to attack petroleum-producing facilities around Tampico, the Royal Navy's primary fuel source, but Mexico's revolutionary government could not survive without the revenue. Owing to Allied disruption of communications with Berlin, disputes arose between the chiefs of German military and naval intelligence in Mexico. The former, biological warfare pioneer Anton Dilger, went to Spain in a futile effort to prod the General Staff to intensify aggression against the US from Mexico. In his absence, Black Tom perpetrator Kurt Jahnke took over. He coopted socialists and anti-war movements for sabotage missions, reinforced propaganda and economic warfare efforts, and kept the Etappendienst ready to support a long-range submarine offensive against the Americas. Pan-American solidarity for the US was a figment of Allied propaganda, and other countries warmly received German outcasts.

Communications between Berlin and Latin America grew more critical as the war progressed. Spy centers in the Americas played key roles in Germany's naval and economic wars, sustained by a timely flow of orders, raw intelligence and reporting. German engineers had built a chain of commercial radio communications stations across the hemisphere, but only a state-of-





German military attaché Captain Franz von Papen transferred from Mexico City to Washington in July 1914. He smuggled expatriate reservists from the Americas through European neutrals on false passports, organized espionage and sabotage networks, and tried to foment war between Mexico and the US. (Library of Congress)



Captain Karl Boy-Ed was German naval attaché to the US in 1914 who orchestrated a complex secret supply network for German warships and raiders during the first months of war. (Library of Congress)



Fritz Duquesne was a Boer veteran who despised the English. He was a multi-lingual jack-of-all-trades who reconnoitered Central America for German intelligence in 1915, and sabotaged British ships from Brazil and the Guyanas in 1916. (Library of Congress)

the-art station at Ixtapalapa, Mexico had the capability to communicate with Nauen. Since 1915, Ixtapalapa had been the focus of British, Japanese and US intelligence. US agents identified three scarce electronic parts without which the Ixtapalapa radios could not function, but it was a British intelligence officer, Royal Marine Captain Alfred EW Mason who sabotaged the station around July 1918. The Germans promptly arranged to construct a new long-range station in friendly Argentina.

Behind facades of neutrality, Argentina, Chile and Venezuela turned a blind eye to prominent, active German intelligence organizations. To circumvent Allied sanctions, the spies engineered smuggling rackets to supply Germany through European neutrals. Sabotage against merchant ships continued, born out by mysterious fires and explosions aboard vessels departing South American ports. Stranded German mariners photographed and cataloged all Allied ships and generated targeting information for U-boat commanders. Livestock bound for Allied armies were inoculated with glanders virus in Buenos Aires. Agents and couriers for covert missions into Allied countries were recruited in Santiago, Caracas and especially Buenos Aires.

Indeed, three of the 11 German spies executed in the Tower of London were Latin American agents on ill-conceived missions of dubious value early in the war. The Germans learned quickly from those mistakes. Agents of influence infiltrated governments throughout the continent and employees of Allied diplomatic missions were targeted. By the end of the war, the Germans had agents inside several US legations and consular offices, including Buenos Aires, Lima, Rio de Janeiro, La Paz and Caracas. Meanwhile generous subsidies inspired sympathizers, writers-for-hire and publicists to maintain the drumbeat of propaganda to sway Latin American public opinion toward neutrality.

### Steadfast Allies

A few countries became steadfast Allies—Cuba, Panama, Peru, Uruguay and Brazil. Their governments cooperated with Allied counterintelligence efforts to root out the insidious German networks on their territory. In Cuba, German intelligence had capitalized on the island's strategic location in the shadow of the US and as a crossroads for Caribbean shipping. A concerted effort by Cuban secret police, Allied intelligence and the US War Trade Board finally disrupted the German espionage, courier and contraband networks through Havana in

April 1918. The anti-German campaign ruined the Uppmann family's cigar-making and banking empires and strengthened Cuban intelligence as a domestic political weapon.

Panama's defenses were bolstered by US Army aviation and Puerto Rican infantry units to protect the Panama Canal from sabotage. MID and ONI offices in Ancon operated as regional hubs for US intelligence. In Peru, German agents sabotaged interned ships, paid agitators to stir up strikes and destructive riots, and reinforced Chilean espionage in preparation for military invasion. To humiliate Uruguay, Berlin dispatched submarine U-157 to stop a Spanish liner in mid-Atlantic, remove the Uruguayan Military Mission, and force them to choose between execution on the spot or renouncing their pro-Allied mission. Brazil stood at the forefront of the Allied cause in Latin America, yet a powerful German intelligence network based in Rio de Janeiro survived. It was certainly involved in one of the most perplexing tragedies in US Navy history, the sinking of the USS Cyclops, a huge supply ship that vanished in the Bermuda Triangle with a load of Brazilian manganese ore and 300 men.

The Armistice ended fighting on the oceans and the European fronts in November 1918, but the intelligence war did not have a clean-cut ending. Berlin directed a slowdown to foreign intelligence operations weeks before the Armistice but did not order overseas missions to start burning documents until two months later. By that time Japanese intelligence had hired many of the principal German intelligence officers in South America, and US and British agents were competing against each other for oil concessions in Guatemala.

When socialists and anarchists tried to spark a revolution in Argentina in early January 1919, German agents and banks funded and organized some of the violent strikes. The relationship with the radical revolutionaries was shortlived and most German intelligence officers aligned themselves with a secret intelligence directorate run by militarists in the War Ministry in post-war Berlin. The US precipitously demobilized most foreign intelligence personnel in Latin America in the first quarter of 1919. However, the US delegation to the Paris peace talks included an experienced intelligence analysis group. Indeed, preparations for the next world war had begun before the first one finished •





# Glorious Sun of York

King Edward IV—a brave, giant of a man—was one of the most talented commanders of the Wars of the Roses, argues JEFFREY JAMES, but he was helped by the weather on more than a few occasions.



**F**ew English monarchs had to fight harder for kingship than King Edward IV – Shakespeare’s ‘Glorious Sun of York’. In the 11 years between 1460 and 1471, he fought five major battles. Three of them—Towton, Barnet and Tewkesbury—rank among the most decisive of the medieval period.

Cast in true Plantagenet mould, six foot three inches tall, with charm and good looks, he was a naturally charismatic leader. He was also a fortunate one. Strange atmospheric phenomena, blinding snowstorms and sudden fogs, conjured by the fates, consistently worked to his advantage during his campaigns. More importantly, he had the knack of seizing the strategic initiative and winning battles.

### Dynastic warfare

Edward’s first experience of ‘grim visag’d war’ came when he was just 17 years old, at Ludford Bridge in Shropshire on 12 October 1459. Rivalry between Yorkist and Lancastrian factions had erupted into open warfare. Lancastrian power was wielded by Henry VI’s formidable Queen, Margaret of Anjou, known to history as the ‘She-wolf of France’, along with the Beauforts, Dukes of Somerset. The Yorkist party, led by Edward’s father, Richard of York, was supported by the powerful Neville family, including the ambitious 30-year-old Earl of Warwick – the famous ‘kingmaker’.

Richard had an arguably better claim to the throne than the saintly but hapless Henry VI – and it was due to this, along with York’s repeated attempts to gain influence and power at court that plunged the country into the white heat of dynastic warfare.

Unexpectedly, the unwarlike Henry took the field in person at Ludford Bridge. The novelty of this attracted such strong support, that soon Richard’s army was outnumbered two to one. After launching an ineffective cannonade, the Yorkists, with their support collapsing, fled across the border into Wales – burning bridges behind them. Richard and his younger son, Edmund, fled to Ireland, while Edward and the Nevilles took ship to Calais.

Within a year the struggle was renewed. In early June 1460, Yorkist supporters seized the port of Sandwich, creating a bridgehead from which Edward and Warwick were able to marshal their forces before occupying London. The Tower, with its vast and potentially hostile arsenal, was blockaded. Then,



**Battle of Tewkesbury, 4 May 1471. Archers fight it out, while mounted knights clash. King Edward is shown in the front rank, driving back the Lancastrians, who are turning in defeat.**



**Execution of Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, after the battle of Tewkesbury. King Edward looks on resolutely.**

having secured a loan of £1,000 from the city—‘for the sake of peace and of prosperity for the king and kingdom’—the rebels, perhaps 8,000-strong, marched north, confronting the Lancastrians at Northampton on 10 July. It was to be Edward’s first military command.

The Lancastrian army, with King Henry in attendance, occupied a position described as ‘a strong and mighty field, in the meadows, armed and arrayed with guns’. Exceptionally heavy rain had fallen during the day, drenching the royal cannons, rendering them impotent. It was the first of several severe weather ‘assists’ Edward would enjoy during his military career – enabling his men to launch their assault free from enemy artillery fire. Even so, the fighting at Northampton might well have become protracted had not Lord Grey, on the extreme right of the Lancastrian line, ‘turned his coat’. In a premeditated act of treachery, he ordered his men to throw down their weapons, before helping Edward’s troops scale the barricades into the fortified camp.

With their defences unexpectedly breached, the remaining Lancastrians were assailed front and flank and soon gave way. Casualties among the common soldiers were slight – the Yorkist cry had been to ‘spare the commons, but slay the lords’. As a result, a number of Lancastrian leaders were slaughtered out of hand. Others drowned attempting to escape across the swollen waters of the River Nene, which cut off their retreat. King Henry was taken into custody and brought back to London. The victorious Yorkists made it clear they wished him no harm – their quarrel was solely with his corrupt advisors.

The way was now clear for Edward’s father, Richard of York, to return from Ireland and assume control of the country. Had he played his cards right, matters might have stabilised. Instead, he returned determined to seize the crown for himself. Yorkist claims to the throne were technically superior to those of the Lancastrians—an issue that had been festering for some time. However, rather than immediately concede the crown to Richard, the nobility forged an ugly compromise. Henry was allowed to retain the kingship for the duration of his life, on condition that Richard and his heirs succeed him, bypassing King Henry’s own son, the seven-year-old Edward of Lancaster. This agreement, strongly opposed by Henry’s Queen, Margaret of Anjou, ushered in an uneasy period of Yorkist government, lasting until Christmas 1460.

### Severed heads

The new regime enjoyed popular support in the south, but elsewhere there was growing opposition. Because of this, Richard marshalled his forces and headed north, basing himself at Sandal Castle, near Wakefield in Yorkshire. Edward was given an independent command in the Welsh Marches—probably based at Shrewsbury. No sooner had Richard left London than Margaret of Anjou, with Scottish support, raised the north of England against him. She was not going to abandon her young son’s rights to the succession without a fight, and on 26 December 1460 her forces surprised and overwhelmed Richard’s army outside Wakefield. Richard died on the battlefield. His son Edmund was





**Edward IV – the only English king to be deposed and successfully reclaim his crown through force of arms.**

hacked to death trying to escape. Other Yorkist nobles were also slaughtered. Their severed heads were taken to York and displayed on the Micklegate—Richard's head mockingly adorned with a paper crown.

Edward received news of the disaster early in January 1461. Richard's deferred claim to the throne now devolved upon him. He was heading north to confront the Queen's army when he learnt of an enemy force closer to hand, launched from Wales. Through accurate intelligence he was able to dictate the course of the short campaign which followed. He concentrated his forces at Wigmore Castle in Herefordshire, a grim 'marcher' stronghold dominating the road north from Hereford. From Wigmore, he marched a few miles south, deploying his army across the enemy line of advance at Mortimer's Cross, a strategic crossroads. His left flank was anchored on the icy banks of the River Lugg, his right protected by rising ground to the west.

The battle of Mortimer's Cross is probably best known for a supposed supernatural heavenly display on Monday 2 February 1461, Candlemass Day – the day before the battle. On that morning three suns apparently rose in 'a pale clear-shining sky' before closing together. Edward and his supporters perceived this to be a sure sign of God's support. It was as if the Holy Trinity had risen in splendour to proclaim a

Yorkist victory, signalling the legitimacy of Edward's claim to the throne. Having witnessed this inspiring spectacle, Edward immediately knelt down in prayer, thanking God. We can imagine him later addressing his army, proclaiming the justness of his cause and explaining the wondrous sight as a harbinger of victory. Once again before a major battle, he had been favoured by a sign from the heavens.

At Northampton, a torrential downpour had quenched the king's guns. Now, at Mortimers Cross, a parhelion, a myriad of super cooled ice crystals, refracting the sun's image, created the illusion of three suns rising like candles on the horizon – an omen of destiny. It would later become the motif of his favourite royal livery badge – the 'Golden Sun of York'.

The enemy army comprised a mix of races, with Welsh, Irish, Breton and French contingents. The numerous languages spoken hampered effective command and control, and the badly equipped and ill clad Irish, along with their indifferently armed Breton allies, would have been no match for Edward's archers and men at arms. Almost nothing is known of the course of the battle, besides its outcome – an overwhelming victory for Edward. Despite vastly inflated claims by later chroniclers, it is unlikely that either side numbered more than a few thousand men apiece.

A poem recounts how the Lancastrian vanguard, comprising the Irish, bravely assailed the Yorkists 'with darts and skains' (daggers), before being shot to pieces by Edward's archers. A number of captured Lancastrian nobles were later beheaded in the market place at Hereford, though the main leaders escaped back into Wales. Unfortunately, with so many foreigners involved, the slaughter at Mortimers Cross was high in comparison with Northampton, where the Yorkists had spared the common soldier.

The defeated Lancastrians had intended to link up with Queen Margaret's northern army, marching south, intent on recovering the king and occupying London. The Queen's force was huge by medieval standards, numbering initially in excess of 30,000 men before desertion on route halved it. Scots mercenaries and English borderers swelled the army's ranks. They travelled down the Great North Road, looting and pillaging. Towns like Grantham, Stamford, Peterborough and Huntingdon were particularly badly hit. Abbeys were despoiled and religious houses desecrated. Contemporaries described the behaviour

of the Lancastrian troops as altogether heathen, 'as if they had been Saracens, and no Christian men'. Allegedly, Queen Margaret had told the Scots they might treat all lands south of the Trent as fair game for plunder, in lieu of wages

### **Born leader**

To protect London, Warwick raised an army from the Home Counties and occupied a broad defensive position running four miles north-east of St Albans, in Hertfordshire. So strongly was it fortified, a frontal attack would almost certainly have failed. However, instead of the expected frontal assault, the Queen surprised him by marching west to Dunstable, easily overwhelming the small covering force placed there. Then, by means of a covert night march, she fell upon his extreme left flank at St Albans itself.

The fighting was so brisk in the narrow streets of the town that many of the Queen's northern levies immediately fled. However, a hardcore of her 'household' troops, perhaps 5000 in total, held firm, breaking down further Yorkist resistance. Warwick's army, outflanked and outfought, disintegrated. Had he been able to re-deploy his strung out divisions, he might yet have prevailed, but at the crisis of the battle his men proved insubordinate, many refusing to fight.

Henry (a passive spectator at the battle) was reunited with his Queen. The victory seemed complete. Had Margaret and Henry immediately advanced on London it might also have been decisive. Instead they hesitated. One contemporary chronicler asserts they deliberately threw away their chance of occupying the city, rather than risk it being sacked by their wild 'borderers'. More likely they feared the reception they would get. Their army fell back on Dunstable. Running short of supplies, and with news of Edward's forces closing on the capital, they were eventually forced to retrace their path back north.

Edward reached London on 26 February 1461, to popular acclaim. However, with King Henry once again under Lancastrian control, Yorkist legal authority to rule was lost. Only by setting himself up as rightful king could Edward assert his authority. Even before arriving in London he was calling himself, 'by the grace of God of England, France and Ireland vray true and just heir'. Warwick is often credited with being the driving force behind this so-called 'kingmaking'. However, the evidence is that Edward, a born leader with a strong following,



needed little encouragement. He knew his destiny lay largely in his own hands.

On Sunday 1 March, the articles of Edward's title were read out by the Chancellor of England. The 'great council' proclaimed him king two days later. However, his position remained dangerous. Despite enjoying popular support in the south, both the north and west remained firmly and militantly Lancastrian. Characteristically, he wasted no time in organising the forthcoming campaign. He deferred his formal coronation till later, then secured funding from the city to pay his army. The foot soldiers of his vanguard set off northward on 11 March. Edward with the main body followed a day or two later. A contemporary poem, 'the Rose of Rouen' (Edward's birthplace), relates how men from the garrison of Calais, from London, Essex and Kent, along with, 'all the south of England, unto the water of the Trent', marched with him.

Even so, Edward's army, estimated at 20,000 strong, was likely to have been outnumbered by the Lancastrians.

### **Deadly archery**

The first clash occurred on 28 March at Ferrybridge, a crossing point on the River Aire, just north of Pontefract, in Yorkshire. The bridge across the river had been destroyed by the Lancastrians, and an attempt to rebuild it was easily beaten off. Edward launched an attack to force the crossing, dismounting to lead the charge in person. However, with Lancastrian resistance holding firm, he was forced to despatch a strong mounted detachment to Castleford, three miles upstream, to turn the enemy flank. Once across the river, the detachment fell like a thunderclap on the surprised Lancastrians, who fled back toward the main body of their army, formed up to the north between the villages of Saxton and Towton.

Overnight the armies bivouacked no more than a few miles apart. Not all of Edward's army had yet crossed the Aire. The Duke of Norfolk, with the rearguard, comprising possibly a third of the army's strength, was still a half-day's march away. The night was bitterly cold, with snow clouds massing. Had the morning of Palm Sunday, the name by which the battle of Towton was traditionally known, dawned brisk and bright, the obvious disparity in numbers between the armies would have encouraged an immediate and arguably decisive Lancastrian attack. Instead, the day was gloomy and overcast, with snow flurries coating the hillsides.

Once again, Edward had been favoured by the elements. Reconnaissance was problematic. The opposing forces remained of uncertain strength. By mid-morning a blizzard had set in. Bowmen on both sides opened the hostilities by firing off their arrows into the swirling murk. The Yorkists inflicted the greater



**The Earl of Warwick is killed attempting to flee from the battlefield of Barnet. His body was later put on display at St Pauls Cathedral to prevent rumours spreading that he was still alive.**





**The forbidding ruins of the gatehouse at Wigmore Castle, a 'marcher' stronghold in Herefordshire. Edward concentrated his forces here prior to the Battle of Mortimer's Cross (February 1461). (Jeffrey James)**

damage – assisted by a strong southerly wind, which brought the enemy more quickly within effective range. The impact on densely packed ranks of soldiery was frightful. Coats of mail and leather offered scant protection. Only the best quality plate armour, worn by the knights, was proof against the arrow storm.

Around noon, possibly with the blizzard abating, Norfolk's rearguard became visible, approaching from the south. The twenty-four-year old Lancastrian commander, Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, seeing that Edward would soon be reinforced, ordered an immediate attack. The first charge was made by heavily armoured mounted knights, who came thundering out of the murk, breaking through the Yorkist lines, scattering their immediate opponents and pursuing them for several miles.

The Lancastrian foot soldiers, following behind, then came to bloody hand strokes with poleaxe, bill and sword. It was a critical moment in the battle. Had the Yorkist line crumbled under the onslaught, the battle would have been lost. Stubbornly, the Yorkists held their ground. Edward, an inspiration, is said to have fought like 'a new Hector, another Achilles'. Standing head and shoulders taller than most men around him, bedecked in shining Gothic armour, he would have been a terrifying sight.

The dramatic and sudden collapse of the Lancastrian line, which occurred after an unusually ferocious and protracted period of hand to hand fighting—probably coincided with the arrival of Norfolk's fresh divisions. The exhausted Lancastrians, many trapped against the icy banks of the River Cock, were subjected to a bloody slaughter. Although the 28,000 officially claimed to have died is almost certainly an exaggeration, it is clear that the scale of the loss at Towton was unprecedented.

After the battle, Edward had the mouldering heads of his father and uncle removed from the Micklegate at York, replacing them with gruesome trophies of his own. Margaret, Henry and the Prince of Wales, along with Somerset and other Lancastrian leaders escaped into Scotland. The task of subduing the last strongholds in Northumberland was delegated to Warwick and his brother, John Neville. Edward was impatient to return south. He made his state entry into the capital on the 26 June 1461. His formal coronation took place two days later. All but die-hard Lancastrians now acknowledged him as king.

### **Unpopular marriage**

Edward was conciliatory to many who had opposed him, confident in his ability to win over former enemies. Critics would

say over-confident. Serious insurrections in the north and west in the coming years, supported by former Lancastrians pardoned by Edward, indicate that these new allegiances were often fragile. However, by 1464 the country was largely under Edward's control. The wave of executions that followed the battle of Hexham (May 1464) virtually wiped out the remaining active Lancastrians in the north of England. Soon, only the celebrated garrison of Harlech Castle in North Wales held out against him. Henry, a fugitive since Towton, was captured and imprisoned in the Tower. Edward's position seemed unassailable. As a reward for his support, Warwick was granted lavish estates and titles, confirming him as the second most powerful man in the kingdom.

Given their hard won success, it is astonishing that by 1469, possibly earlier, Warwick would be plotting Edward's overthrow. Historians are at odds as to the cause of the rift. Most blame the rise of Edward's new in-laws, the Woodvilles, though differences in foreign policy also played a part. Edward had entered into a covert and unpopular marriage with Elizabeth Woodville in May 1464, upsetting Warwick's plans to cement an alliance with France by arranging the king's marriage into the French royal family. Like others of the nobility, Warwick considered the Woodvilles as 'jumped up' and greedy, and resented the considerable royal patronage they received.

By the spring of 1469, opinion had swung heavily against Edward and the Woodvilles. Warwick, on the other hand, retained his popularity. Feeling more and more excluded from the king's inner circle, and sensing an opportunity to assert himself, he fostered rebellion in the north. Edward, on hearing of the rebellion, immediately arranged for his unpopular in-laws to be sent into hiding. He then summoned forces from Wales and the West Country to confront the rebels. Being unaware of Warwick's involvement, he underestimated the scale of the threat, and at Edgecote, near Banbury, on 26 July 1469, his forces were crushed. Edward, who was not present at the battle, was later seized and briefly put under 'house arrest'. Two of the leading Woodvilles were tracked down and murdered.

To further his self-seeking, Warwick secretly married his eldest daughter, Isobel, to Edward's younger brother George, Duke of Clarence. Had he been able to attract sufficient support from the nobility, his likely plan to supplant Edward with Clarence might have been



realised. However, no such support was forthcoming. Even Warwick's brother, John Neville, who had risen to prominence after Hexham, considered it wiser to distance himself from the plot. In the end Edward managed to re-assert his authority and regain control.

Perhaps surprisingly, Edward sought to mend relations with Warwick. He had previously forbidden any Neville offspring marrying into the royal family, wisely considering them to be powerful enough already. But for the time being he accepted the status quo with respect to Clarence. Despite this conciliatory gesture, Warwick and Clarence sponsored yet another rebellion the following year. Edward this time was ready. He hurried north at the head of a sizeable army, preventing a juncture with the earl's forces at Leicester. Then on 20 March 1470, near Stamford, he put the rebels to flight when he 'losyde his gonnys of his ordynaunce oppone them'. Bellicose cries of 'a Warwick', and 'a Clarence', left no doubt who was behind the revolt, and on 24 March, Edward issued a proclamation declaring them both traitors.

The pair fled the country with their families, landing in France at the beginning of May 1470. Their brief exile ushered in a period of crisis. With French diplomatic support, an unholy Lancastrian/Neville alliance was forged. Margaret of Anjou sanctioned the Prince of Wales' engagement to Warwick's younger daughter Anne, in return for the earl's promise to restore Henry VI to the throne. As a result of this cynical 'realpolitik', Clarence became dangerously isolated.

On 13 September 1470, once again back in England, Warwick and Clarence openly declared for Henry VI. Edward was too far north to intervene. Persistent problems there had sapped his resources, resulting in a catastrophic collapse in his support. The 'final straw' came with the defection of, John Neville, now Marquess Montagu. Outnumbered, and with enemy forces converging on him, Edward was forced to flee the country, setting sail from Lynn in Norfolk. A hostile squadron of Hanseatic ships came close to capturing him, but Edward somehow evaded them, eventually making a safe landfall on the Dutch coast in early October.

### Severe storms

Far from accepting defeat, Edward's resolve to reclaim the crown hardened while in exile. Duke Charles of Burgundy, his reluctant host, initially refused to offer support. However, when Louis XI of France declared war on the Dukedom

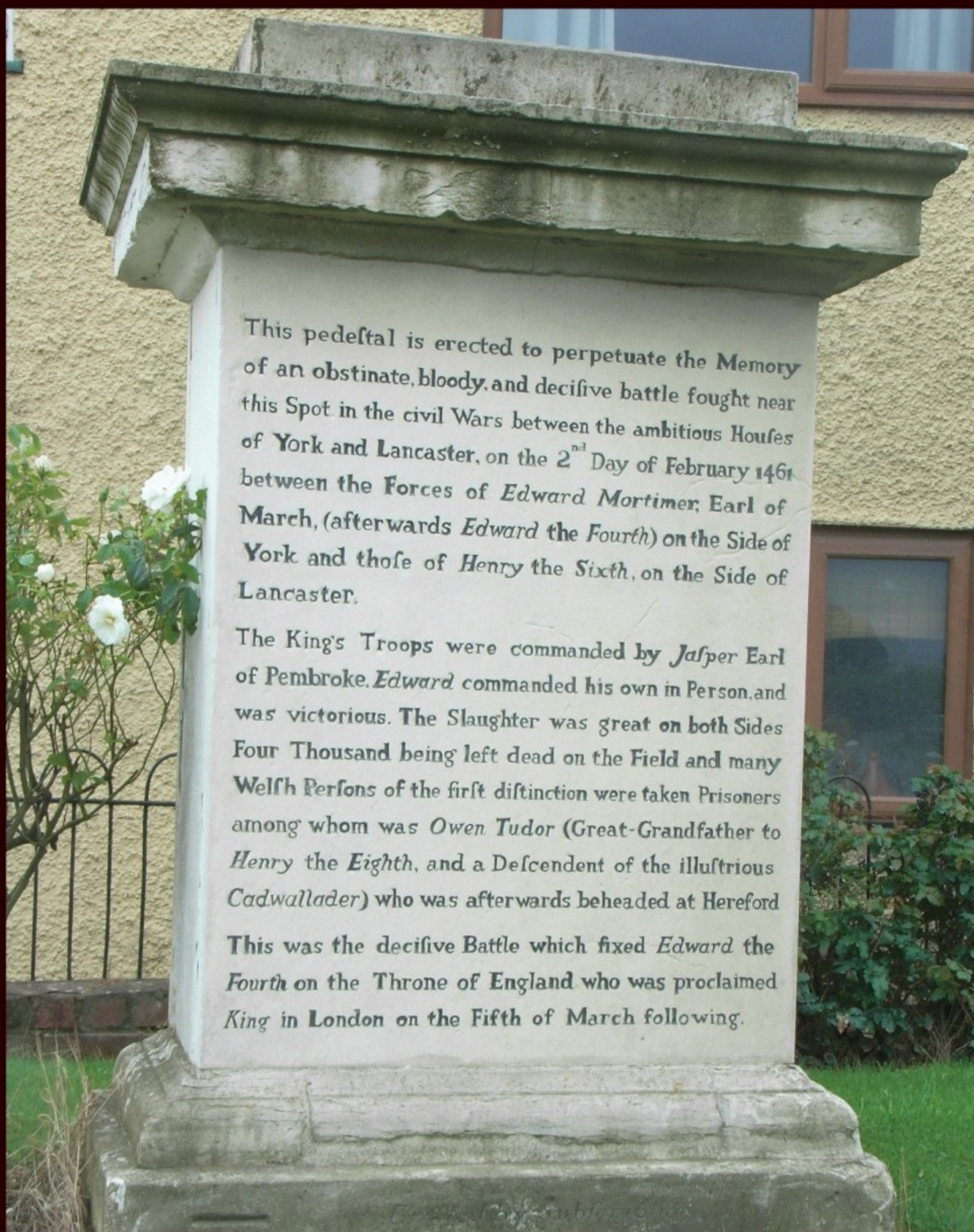
in December 1470 (tacitly supported by Warwick's new government), Charles abandoned his policy of neutrality and backed Edward's invasion plans. The Duke's intervention was decisive. With his help, Edward was able to procure ships, supplies and mercenaries. Once more the weather was a factor. Severe storms forced Warwick's blockading fleet back to harbour, enabling the returning king, though buffeted by the gales, to make an unopposed landing at Ravenspur, on the Humber.

In Yorkshire, few supporters materialised. Memories of Towton were still fresh. Not until Edward reached Nottingham did significant reinforcements appear. Two strong contingents from the north-west of England were among them - the soldiers being described as 'well arrayed, and habled for warr'. Edward's scouts soon discovered 'a great fellowship' of the enemy nearby at Newark. He boldly

marched toward them, so unnerving them they fled the town. News of this galvanised latent Yorkist support. Lord Hastings alone raised 2000 men, who joined the king at Leicester.

Warwick was cautious of committing his army to battle. Clarence's forces were daily expected from the south-west, and the Queen's arrival from France, delayed by unfavourable winds, was thought to be imminent. Instead, the earl fell back behind Coventry's strong walls. Edward pitched camp outside the town and challenged him to come out and settle their quarrel 'on a playne field'—but Warwick would not budge.

Edward was now engaged in a dangerous standoff. Had Clarence remained faithful and joined Warwick at Coventry, the king would have been heavily outnumbered. From Yorkshire, John Neville was marching against him, and in the south other enemies were



The monument at Mortimer's Cross, described as an 'obstinate, bloody and decisive battle'. (Richard Brooks)





**Recreation of 15th knight, wearing full plate armour, of the sort worn by Edward IV and his wealthy followers.**

concentrating. However, Clarence's alliance with Warwick was at breaking point. The Queen's attitude had left him in no doubt that once Edward was defeated, she would (in the words of the chronicler) 'procure the distruction of hym, and of all his blode'. Covert negotiations, probably begun while Edward was still in exile, now bore fruit, re-uniting the brothers. Their armies drew together near Banbury on 3 April, with Edward, along with his other brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester (the future Richard III), riding out 'betwixt both hostes' to embrace the prodigal sibling.

On Palm Sunday, 7 April, while Edward knelt in prayer at Daventry, clasps boarding up a small alabaster image of Saint Anne suddenly parted with a great crack, displaying the image of the blessed Saint, patroness of fertility. Though probably caused by a minor tremor, to the medieval mind it appeared as if God had sent a clear message that the king's cause would prosper. Four days later in London,

he was reunited with his wife. Until his arrival, Elizabeth had not dared leave the sanctuary of Westminster Cathedral, where she had given birth to a son—the future Edward V.

A showdown between Edward and Warwick could no longer be avoided.

On 13 April, outriders from the opposing camps clashed near Barnet, north of London. Warwick's army was embattled on Hadley Green—the highest point of land between London and York. With evening approaching, Edward, taking the initiative, led his men forward and deployed under cover of darkness within striking distance of the enemy. Overnight a dense mist fell. Warwick's gunners blindly cannonaded to their front. They were aware the king's army was close by, but overestimated the range. The fog masked the proximity of the armies. Edward ordered his men to keep as quiet as possible. His plan was to attack just before dawn, hoping to catch the Nevilles off guard.

### **Brute force**

Both sides were deployed in the traditional three 'battles', line abreast, but because of the poor visibility, Edward's right wing overlapped Warwick's, while his own left wing was itself overlapped. The Yorkists had 9000 men, the Nevilles perhaps a few thousand more – including more guns. However, the battle would not be decided by gunnery, nor by archery, but by brute force, man to man in a terrifying clash of cold steel. Warwick's superiority in artillery (and probably bowmen) was negated by the poor visibility. Once again the weather conditions favoured the king.

Having first committed his cause and quarrel into the hands of God, Edward launched his attack before the first light of dawn, immediately closing with the enemy, foregoing the usual preliminary cannonade. His right wing, led by Gloucester, soon began to push the enemy back. On this flank, the enemy were disadvantaged by being overlapped, which, we are told, 'distresyd them theyr



gretly'. Outflanked and pressed inward toward their centre, they were then further assailed by elements of Edward's own division.

On the other flank (Edward's left), the result of the overlap was even more pronounced. Here, Edward's men were quickly overwhelmed and broken. Soldiers from both sides, in flight or pursuit, streamed from the battlefield toward Barnet. However, because of the fog, these dramatic events went unnoticed elsewhere on the battlefield. Had visibility been better, the sight may well have panicked Edward's central division and encouraged their opponents—an important consideration, since the fighting in the centre would decide the outcome of the battle. Here, both Edward and Warwick were strongest.

The official Yorkist chronicler graphically describes how Edward 'mannly, vigorowsly, and valiantly assayed them, in the midst and strongest of theyr battaile, where he, with great violence, bett and bare down afore hym all that stode in hys way'. Later accounts relate how some of Warwick's men were mistaken in the fog for Yorkists, and fired on by their own side, adding to the confusion. Many historians claim this turned the tide of battle. More likely it was the fierceness of the king's offensive in the centre, along with Gloucester's success on the right.

Montagu was killed 'in playne battayle', fighting to the last. Warwick, sensing defeat, took horse and sought to escape, but was unceremoniously killed and 'spoiled nakyd' in the pursuit. The slaughter was unrelenting, possibly because Edward, angered by Warwick's treachery, allowed his men full license. A low lying area, still known today as 'Dead Man's Bottom', marks the traditional site of the killing ground. That the battle was hard won is evidenced by the number of Yorkist knights killed – indeed Edward's losses in noblemen exceeded Warwick's.

Defeating the Nevilles removed one threat – another now loomed. On the eve of Barnet, Queen Margaret had landed at Weymouth. A considerable body of troops, including 'the whole might' of Devon and Cornwall soon rallied to her. Edward seems to have been taken by surprise by her arrival. His army had disbanded after Barnet, and had to be hurriedly recalled. Commissions of array were raised; the artillery train mobilised. Setting out on 24 April, his mainly mounted army made a series of forced marches, determined to bring on a decisive battle. The Queen's army

made for the bridge at Gloucester, intent on crossing into Wales, where her ally, Jasper Tudor, was busy raising men. To her anger and dismay, she found the bridge barred to her. The next crossing was 24 miles distant. Already weary to the point of exhaustion, the Lancastrians set off again – their next objective, the ford at Tewkesbury.

### Arch enemies

Edward's pursuing troops were also suffering. The day was sunny and hot. Water for their horses was scarce. However, once again the weather worked in Edward's favour, allowing him to make a detour across the high western scarp of the Cotswolds—gaining on the Queen, while keeping her rearguard in sight. Amazingly, both armies arrived at Tewkesbury just a few hours apart on the evening of 2 May. An undisturbed river crossing was no longer an option for the Lancastrians. Instead, they prepared to do battle, deploying on high ground just south of the town. Edward camped three miles distant. His men that day had travelled a staggering 35 miles.

Next day, Edward's army, approximately 5000 strong, was marshalled in plain view of the enemy. Edward led the 'main battle' in the centre, Gloucester the left, and Lord Hastings the right. The Lancastrians, also in three divisions, outnumbered the Yorkists – though not in archers or artillery. Lord Wenlock – a serial turncoat during the wars, commanded the centre. Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset and John Courtenay, Earl of Devon, led the right and left wings respectively.

The Yorkist chronicler states the Lancastrians held a 'marvaylous strong grownd', fronted by 'evell lanes, and depe dykes, (with) so many hedges, trees, and bushes, that it was right hard to approche'. If they held fast, Edward knew he would have difficulty in pressing home a frontal attack. Instead, he capitalised on his strength in guns and bowmen, opening an artillery bombardment and advancing his archers, which, 'so sore oppressyd them, with shott of arrows, that they gave them right a sharpe shwre'.

It was probably the intense missile fire that drove Somerset's men, on the Lancastrian right, to launch an attack from the security of the hill against Edward's centre. However, their attack was premature and unsupported. Edward exploited this by driving them back, assisted by a squadron of mounted troops, placed earlier in hiding on Somerset's flank. He then followed this up by smashing through the enemy



**Battle of Barnet, 14 April 1471. Knights are shown fighting both on horseback and on foot. King Edward is mounted on a white charger, thrusting forward with his lance – in fact he fought all his battles dismounted.**

centre. Lancastrian resistance was half hearted at best. The chronicler ruefully relates how 'in the wynnynge of the fiede such as abode hand-strokes were slain incontinent'.

Those killed included the young Prince Edward and the Earl of Devon. Lord Wenlock allegedly had his brains smashed in by Somerset for failing to support his attack. Somerset, along with other fugitives from the battle, fled to the Abbey – but he was unceremoniously dragged out again on Edward's orders. The king was in no mood to bow to church privilege. Next day the duke was tried and executed. Somerset was the last of the Beauforts—arch enemies of the House of York. With his death and the death of Prince Edward, the Lancastrian cause was crushed. The unfortunate Henry was later quietly murdered in the Tower. Margaret of Anjou was captured and imprisoned. The Yorkist triumph was complete. England would enjoy 12 years peace until Edward's early death (aged forty one) triggered further upheaval.

Edward IV was an enigma to his countrymen—pleasure seeking in peacetime, ferocious in war. He fought all his battles on foot at the forefront of the army, and lost none. He was an accomplished general, not just the 'run of the mill' 15th century 'slugger'. Philip de Commynes, a contemporary, who knew him well, described him as 'not a schemer, nor a man of foresight, but of an invincible courage'. He was the original 'comeback kid' – the only English monarch ever to win back the crown through force of arms – with just a little help from the weather! •





Hitler reviews parade of Brown Shirts on Party Day in 1927 in Nuremberg. Black Front assassins wanted to hit this symbolic German town with bombs.

# Killing the Fuhrer

As the Nazi leader alienated many of his fellow Germans, some of them plotted against him. PETER MARRIOT uncovers their attempts at assassination.

**G**ermany's wartime Fuhrer, Adolf Hitler, made many enemies—and feared vengeance attacks from them all. His bodyguards surveyed the crowds at every major event he attended. Searching for an odd action, an aggressive gesture, anything unusual that might betray an imminent assault. Among the people that presented a danger to him were the Jews of Germany—they had good reason to loathe him.

In 1935, Hitler introduced the Nuremberg Laws on citizenship and race.

These withdrew citizenship from people of non-German blood and effectively banned Jews from the civil service and other professional careers. It was the first step towards their total elimination from German society. One of the results of this ban was to stop Jewish students from studying at German universities. It created a whole section of disaffected young men who now sought ways to hit back at the society that had rejected them

## Fighting back

While some Jews still hoped this would

be a temporary measure, others decided that it was the time to fight. Some joined underground opposition groups. One formed around Otto Strasser. He was one of two brothers who were senior Nazis in the 1920s. They took the left-wing politics of the party too seriously for Hitler's liking and he denounced Otto as a Bolshevik. In 1930, he had him expelled from the party. Although Otto was a Nazi, it did not stop him from recruiting some of the alienated Jewish students who wanted to strike back at Hitler.

Otto's elder brother, Gregor, advanced



rapidly within the Nazi movement and founded a party newspaper. Its first editor was Dr Paul Joseph Goebbels and they formed a powerful alliance, arguing for socialist principles. This made Gregor especially popular with SA Brown Shirts, who were also keen on a socialist revolution in Germany. At one time, he challenged Hitler for leadership of the Nazi party.

In 1926 at the Bamberg Nazi rally, Gregor argued strongly for a socialist agenda, but Hitler stood against him and rejected proposals that sounded too much like their Communist rivals. Goebbels could see the way the party was going and left Gregor to join with Hitler. In 1932, with the Nazis on the verge of political power, Gregor Strasser was offered the position of vice-chancellor. It was an offer made by Chancellor Von Schleicher and was intended to split the party. Hitler was furious and had a major row with Gregor, accusing him of stabbing him in the back. By the end of the year, Gregor had resigned from the party.

In the meantime, Otto Strasser was organising opposition to Hitler through a splinter group called the Union of Revolutionary National Socialists. It became known as the Black Front. An early member of the Black Front was Walther Stennes. He was a deputy commander of the Brown Shirts and like many in the SA was sympathetic to the left-wing views of the Strasser brothers.

Following the dismissal of Otto Strasser from the Nazi party in 1930, Stennes organised a strike of Berlin Brown Shirts. During an election rally in August, the SA withdrew their protection half way during a speech given by Goebbels—the betrayer of the Strassers. It left him dangerously exposed to rivals. Goebbels called in the SS to provide him with bodyguards. But Stennes and his Brown Shirts reacted by invading his office and beating up the SS guards. Goebbels was forced to ask the police to remove them and fled to Munich.

Hitler could see the seeds of a mutiny in this action and came to Berlin to meet Stennes. They patched up their differences but only briefly. Fearing that the SA were uncontrollable, Hitler summoned Ernst Roehm back from Bolivia. He hoped his old comrade and Brown Shirt founder would help him re-assert order. In fact, it only made matters worse. Roehm would become an even bigger threat to his personal security. The fall-out from this affair would unite Nazi and Jew against Hitler.



**SS leader Himmler and Heydrich, head of the SD, inflicted a massive blow on Stalin's military hierarchy when they invented an anti-Stalin plot among Soviet officers—leading to the deaths of hundreds of senior Russian commanders.**

### **Black Front**

In 1931, the Nazi party was not a united party. It had a strong socialist revolutionary dimension to it and this was harboured by the Brown Shirts of the SA—the street brawlers who had helped bring Hitler to power. Walther Stennes was one of their most popular deputy leaders. His Berlin branch of the SA believed they owed allegiance to him rather than Hitler. Hitler tried to appeal to the German electorate by seeming a less extreme figure, and reined in the wilder excesses of the Brown Shirts who still liked to bully and fight opponents in the streets. As Hitler and Roehm exerted tighter control over the SA, Stennes and his Berlin followers rejected their interference.

Early on the morning of 1 April 1931,

Roehm was informed that Stennes and his supporters were in open revolt against Hitler. They occupied the Berlin party headquarters and the offices of Goebbels' Nazi newspaper. SS troopers were sent in to clear them out but the larger numbers of Brown Shirts turned on them and beat them. Within hours, the SA revolt spread throughout northern Germany.

Stennes acted as though he was party leader and sacked the much-hated Goebbels. Hitler responded by calling in the police to expel the SA from his Berlin headquarters and dismissed Stennes from the party. In the face of this firm action, the SA rebellion ran out of steam. SS agents secretly infiltrated SA ranks and brought it back under control. Stennes fled Germany to join Otto Strasser in



Czechoslovakia to form an opposition group.

Together they worked in Prague where Otto ran his Black Front group dedicated to the overthrow of Hitler. They recruited many émigrés from Germany and although the Black Front included Nazis angry at Hitler's betrayal of their revolution, they also counted vengeful Jews among their members. After Hitler became Chancellor in 1933, Stennes made the mistake of going back to Germany. He was arrested by the SS and faced certain execution.

Stennes' wife went to Hermann Goering, who had once been his friend, and asked him to save her husband. Goering relented and managed to get Stennes smuggled across the border to the Netherlands. From there, the former



**Julius Streicher, leading Nazi 'Jew Baiter' and founder of anti-Semitic 'Der Sturmer' was a target for Black Front assassins.**

Brown Shirt commander sailed to China where he served as a bodyguard to the Chinese dictator Chiang Kai-shek.

The Stennes affair shook Hitler and his bodyguards. They knew there were still unruly elements within the SA who did not like the political direction he was taking. This simmering rebellion soon incriminated Ernst Roehm, who had always been sympathetic to these revolutionary feelings. In June 1934, Hitler was reluctantly convinced to strike at the heart of the SA and end once and for all its mutinous tendencies.

Heinrich Himmler, head of the SS, and Hermann Goering were the senior Nazis who persuaded to Hitler to eradicate this

constant threat to his personal security. During the Night of the long Knives, the SS methodically murdered any SA leaders suspected of treachery—including Roehm. The SS hit list also included opponents of Hitler outside the SA.

Otto Strasser was at the top of this list but he was out of the country in Prague. His older brother, Gregor Strasser, was not so fortunate. Gregor had been bold enough to oppose Hitler as he stood on the brink of becoming Chancellor and Hitler would never forgive or forget that. Gregor was arrested by the SS in Berlin and taken to a Gestapo torture cell. At one time, he could have been leader of the Nazi party, but that did not save him from Himmler's SS hit men. They burst into his cell and shot him in the back of the head.

When the news reached his younger brother in Prague, it gave Otto Strasser an added personal incentive for wanting Hitler dead. For two years, Strasser welcomed angry young men to his Black Front group. They came from the stream of émigrés that escaped to Prague looking for justice against Hitler. But as the months passed and Hitler strengthened his control over the Third Reich, these recruits came less from disgruntled Nazis and more from desperate Jews. In 1936, their time finally came. It was a complex plan and involved several strikes against the Third Reich.

### **Suitcase bombs**

Nuremberg was the symbolic heart of Hitler's regime. It was in this medieval city in Bavaria that he held his greatest rallies, attracting hundreds of thousands of supporters. Hitler and his Nazi henchmen would march through the old streets every September and then gather in the vast stadium outside the city. Strasser and his Jewish conspirators intended to let off two bombs contained in suitcases in Nuremberg—one at the Nazi party headquarters and one at the offices of the Nazi newspaper Der Sturmer.

Julius Streicher was the publisher of Der Sturmer and a key target for the Jewish element of the Black Front. This bald-headed brute of a man was a former school teacher who became notorious for his verbal and literary attacks on Germany's Jews. Streicher used Der Sturmer to denounce Jewish behaviour and spread anti-Semitic propaganda. He blamed every disaster on the Jews—however ludicrous—including even the destruction of the Hindenburg Zeppelin, said to be the work of Jewish saboteurs.

But Otto Strasser also wanted

vengeance for the death of his brother and Hitler was said to have been included on a Black Front assassination list. A 20-year-old Jewish student called Helmut Hirsch was given the task of carrying out the bomb plot. Hirsch had moved to Prague the year before because Hitler's Nuremberg Laws excluded Jews from attending German universities.

On 20 December 1936, Hirsch told his family he was going on a skiing trip with friends. Instead, he went back to Nazi Germany. He told the German authorities he was visiting his sick mother, but they knew his parents were living in Prague. It is likely that German SS agents had been observing Hirsch in Prague and anyone associated with Strasser's Black Front.

According to his instructions, Hirsch was to pick up the suitcase bombs from a contact in Nuremberg, but the student lost his nerve at the last moment and went to Stuttgart instead. The Gestapo arrested him in the Hotel Pelikan opposite the railway station. Hirsch was taken to Berlin where he was brutally interrogated. During a secret trial, it was indicated that there was a Nazi double agent within the Black Front and that had been the reason for his capture.

Hirsch was condemned to death in March 1937 but the US government tried to intervene. It claimed he was an American citizen because his father had lived in America for ten years. This turned the affair into an international story and suddenly the American ambassador in Berlin, William E Dodd, met with the German Foreign Minister, Konstantin von Neurath. But Hitler was unrelenting and ignored the plea. Hirsch was guillotined.

In the same year, Strasser and his Jewish Black Front dissidents plotted to kill Hitler again but it came to nothing. Having already established Nazi agents in Prague to track them down, events in the following year would finally flush them out.

Hitler's occupation of the Sudetenland in western Czechoslovakia in October 1938 was too close for comfort and Strasser left Prague for Canada. The Black Front was gone but not as far as Hitler was concerned. He knew that Strasser harboured a vendetta against him for killing his brother and that posed an ever-present danger. So Hitler put one of his most lethal SS hit men on the trail of Strasser—Walter Schellenberg.

### **Hitler's hit man**

Hitler forced Otto Strasser out of





Hitler at Nazi rally in Dortmund in 1933, surrounded by Brown Shirts.

Czechoslovakia in 1938 but he could not forget the threat he posed to his life. As head of the Black Front, Strasser, a one-time ardent Nazi, had sent Jewish agents to kill him. Now, Hitler sent an SS agent after him—Walter Schellenberg. A senior member of the SS, Schellenberg worked closely with Himmler and Heydrich. He would eventually become deputy head of the SD in 1939.

The SD—Sicherheitsdienst—was the security and intelligence arm of the SS. It was charged with investigating plots against Hitler and sometimes took pro-active missions in the form of assassination squads. In November 1939, Schellenberg was tasked with kidnapping British secret agents at Venlo on the Dutch border.

The British arrived by car, under the impression they were meeting German army officers plotting against Hitler. Disguised in German military uniforms, Schellenberg and his SS troopers sprayed their car with machine-gun bullets, killed the driver and dragged out the agents. It was a brutal affair, but Hitler believed these men were involved in a plot to blow him up at the Burgerbau Beer Hall in Munich.

In June 1940, Schellenberg was sent to Lisbon, Portugal. His mission was to

kidnap the Duke of Windsor, one-time king of England. He was to bring him back to Nazi Germany in order to make him a Nazi puppet ruler. No scheme was too outlandish or difficult for him. One day in April 1941, Schellenberg was asked to attend a meeting with Himmler, Heydrich and Hitler at the Reich Chancellery. The topic of the conversation was Otto Strasser. Hitler still feared and hated him.

The SS had just received information that he was based in Portugal. They believed Strasser was working with British and American secret agents working on plans to assassinate Hitler. It was claimed he maintained links with Black Front members still active in Germany and they were part of a Soviet network of spies. This was enough for Hitler. He had killed Strasser's brother, Gregor, and he wanted Otto tracked-down and eliminated. Schellenberg was given the assignment.

The method of death was to be a bacterial poison developed by a Nazi scientist. One drop of it would be sufficient to kill Strasser. Schellenberg took two glass tubes of the poison away with him but was terrified of breaking them. He had small steel cases made to hold them. The SS hit man then flew from Berlin across wartime Europe. Flying to

Lyons, Barcelona, and Madrid, he finally landed at Cintra—the airport for Lisbon.

In the Portuguese capital, Schellenberg deposited the tubes of poison in a safe and set about finding Strasser. He questioned his entire network of SS agents in the city. It turned out to be a wild goose chase. Schellenberg spent 16 days searching for him—but he was not there. In fact, he was living in far away Canada. Hitler would never get Strasser and would have to live with the constant threat he posed.

### Swiss assassin

A Jewish plot that got much closer to the heart of Nazi power was enacted at Davos in Switzerland in 1936. David Frankfurter was a 27-year-old student. He was the son of a rabbi and had travelled from Croatia to study medicine in Germany. Just like that other student-assassin, Helmut Hirsch, David Frankfurter was forced out of his German college by Hitler's anti-Semitic laws. He moved to Switzerland to continue his studies, but the Nazi party was active there too.

Wilhelm Gustloff was head of the German Nazi party in Switzerland. He worked for the Swiss government but was very active in promoting



Nazi propaganda. He distributed the vehemently anti-Semitic Protocols of the Elders of Zion in an effort to encourage support for Hitler in Switzerland.

The Swiss Jewish community tried to sue Gustloff, but he seemed immune to criticism and carried on with his hate crimes. Frankfurter was determined to stop him with more direct action. Using the Swiss telephone directory, he tracked-down Gustloff's address in Davos.

On 4 February 1936, Frankfurter went to Gustloff's home and was welcomed in by his wife. He calmly waited for his target in his study, while sitting opposite a portrait of Hitler. When Gustloff entered, Frankfurter shot him five times in the head, neck and chest. He then gave himself up to the Swiss police. The Swiss authorities resisted any pressure to send Frankfurter to Nazi Germany and prosecuted the case themselves. They sentenced him to 18 years in prison. After World War Two, Frankfurter was pardoned and settled in Israel.

Hitler and the Nazi hierarchy were shocked by the brazen shooting of Gustloff. He was one of their keenest representatives abroad and they gave him an elaborate state funeral. Thousands of Hitler youth lined the streets of Schwerin in northern Germany. All leading Nazis were in attendance, including Hitler, Goering, Himmler and Goebbels. Gustloff was declared a martyr of the Nazi cause.

His assassination was given as one of the excuses behind a savage upsurge of attacks on the Jewish community in Germany. It culminated in the dreadful pogrom of Kristallnacht in 1938.

The shooting by Frankfurter of a senior Nazi sent ripples through Hitler's security services. They had been gathering information on many Jewish assassination plots against Hitler. The trail led all the way to Palestine. It is a curious fact to note that Nazi intelligence agencies worked closely with Jewish intelligence agencies throughout this period.

Hitler's decision to exterminate all European Jews—the Final Solution—was not taken until 1942 at the Wannsee Conference. There, top Nazis, led by Heydrich, set in motion the measures that led to the extermination camps of Auschwitz and the others. Until that point, forced emigration was the preferred tool. One option, devised in 1940, was to deport all German Jews to Madagascar, an island off the east coast of Africa. Before this, during the 1930s, Palestine was regarded as the best destination. At that time, Palestine was administered by Britain.

Forced out of Germany, tens of thousands of Jews settled there. Local Arab opposition was fierce and violent. To protect themselves, Palestinian Jews set up a paramilitary organisation called Haganah. Himmler's SS made contact with Haganah to facilitate further emigration to Palestine. Feivel Polkes was a leading member of Haganah and he had known about David Frankfurter's planned attack on Gustloff.

In order to further relations with the Nazis, Polkes arranged to meet with SS agent Adolf Eichmann in Haifa in Palestine on 2 October 1937. Arab anti-Jewish riots prevented that meeting, but they eventually met in Cairo, Egypt, on 10 and 11 November 1937. There, Polkes traded information on a Jewish conspiracy to kill Hitler based in Paris. It was called the Alliance Israelite Universelle and had links with the Gustloff assassination.

But when it came to specifics about the Gustloff plot, Polkes had little more information to give up. He promised to look further into it and even offered to spy for the Nazis in return for loosened currency restrictions for fleeing Jews. His twisted view of events was that Zionists liked Nazi policies because they encouraged more Jews to travel to Palestine.

Polkes should have known better.

Eichmann was also having meetings with the Grand Muft Amin al-Husseini, who was organising bloody uprisings against the Jews. He would eventually become Hitler's main Arab ally. In the end, the British tried to put a cap on Arab-Jewish conflict by banning any further Jewish emigration to Palestine in 1939.

### **Secret military police**

Intelligence was very much at the forefront of the battle to protect Hitler. Beyond the SS, there were other organisations responsible for the protection of the Fuhrer and many of these actively investigated plots against Hitler. One of these was the Fuhrerschutzkommando—Fuhrer Protection Group. This was established by Himmler in March 1933, shortly after Hitler became Chancellor. It was headed by 36-year-old Johann Rattenhuber, a Bavarian police officer. He was fiercely loyal to Hitler and would remain close to him right until to the end in the Bunker in Berlin.

At first, the Fuhrerschutzkommando was staffed by trained Bavarian police detectives and only had authority in Bavaria to protect the Fuhrer. Sometimes, this bodyguard did not even act with the knowledge of Hitler's own SS Escort—as was proved by an incident in the spring of 1933.

Driving through Munich, Hitler became aware of a car following his own. He told his SS driver bodyguard Erich Kempka to increase the speed of his supercharged Mercedes so that the other car could not keep up. On further investigation, it turned out that the strange car pursuing Hitler was full of Rattenhuber's police officer bodyguards. Hitler took a dim view of this, having a strong aversion to all police ever since his days in opposition.

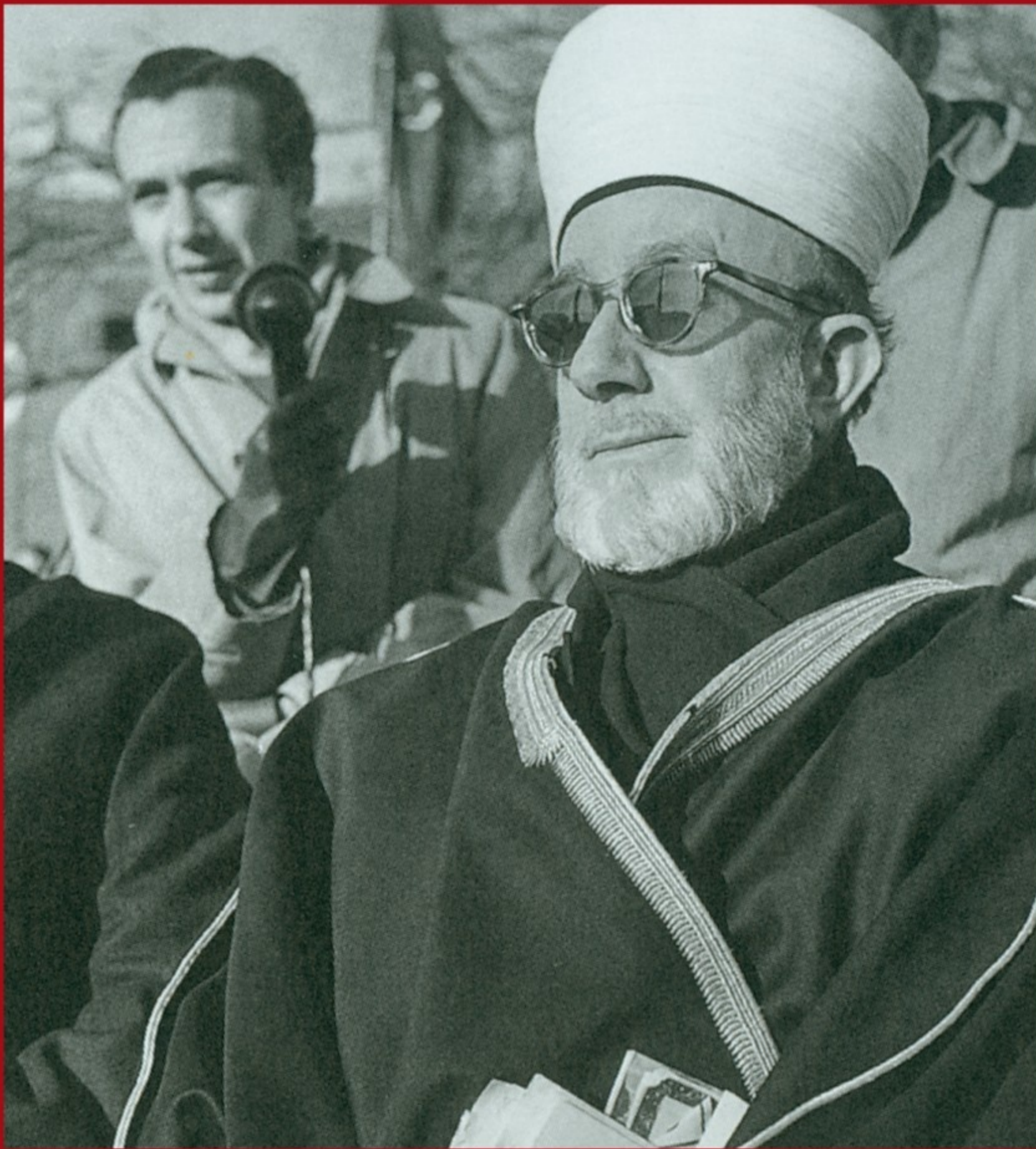
By 1934, Himmler persuaded Hitler that he needed the 12 officers of the Fuhrerschutzkommando and they could function throughout the Third Reich. In 1935, the Fuhrerschutzkommando became part of a separate Reich agency called the Reichssicherheitsdienst or Reich Security Service—known as the RSD. Himmler had to have jurisdiction over the RSD but Rattenhuber remained its commander until 1945 and answered directly to Hitler.

Staffed by trained police detectives, the RSD tended to look down on the chosen bodyguards of Hitler's SS Escort—viewing them as not very bright thugs. But Hitler was no intellectual snob and preferred the company of his old street-fighting comrades. The RSD expanded and took over many security



**SS officer Adolf Eichmann had meetings with Zionist agents in the Middle East in 1937 where they traded information on Jewish attempts to kill Hitler—it suited both their purposes to keep him alive as the Fuhrer's policies encouraged Jewish emigration to Palestine.**





**Eichmann was also meeting the Grand Muft Amin al-Husseini, who was organising bloody uprisings against the Jews and would eventually become Hitler's main Arab ally.**

tasks handled by the SS. This included the provision of personal bodyguards to top Nazis and the surveillance of key party places, such as Hitler's favourite restaurant, 'Osteria Bavaria', in Munich.

The RSD checked buildings for explosives and listening devices and secured travel routes. They checked personnel and locations before important public meetings and set up safety zones around them. By 1936, the RSD had 56 officers, most of them from Bavaria—Hitler's heartland of supporters. They wore black SS uniforms or plain clothes, depending on their missions. During the war, RSD officers were given the status of secret military police. Although they were charged with the protection of Hitler, the RSD would pass on the investigation of assassination attempts to the Gestapo.

If all the various security agencies now protecting Hitler sound complicated, it is not surprising—it was meant to be like this. Hitler liked a certain amount of chaos in government as he believed it kept the various departments and factions competing and conspiring against each

other—and not him. Nazi bureaucratic in-fighting was yet another way of safeguarding the Fuhrer.

Despite all the layers of police surveillance in Nazi Germany, there was still room for a determined enemy agent to penetrate the rings of security. Increasingly, this threat came from abroad. Hitler was now an international statesman and his aggressive views on foreign policy alarmed many of his neighbours. Some of them began to explore the possibility of killing him.

### **Rehearsal for assassination**

Hitler admired and hated the Soviet Union. He remained a socialist throughout his career and ran Germany on mostly socialist lines—copying Soviet five-year plans for his big economic leaps forward. He also admired the ruthlessness of Joseph Stalin—leader of the Soviet Union—seeing in him a fellow dictator of monstrous ambition. But what Hitler hated above all else was the internationalism of Communists. He detested the way they wanted to subvert

the national interest for that of their masters in the Soviet Union. The German nation was sacred to Hitler and he would never allow it to be undermined by foreign influences.

Hitler had fought this on the streets of Germany to win power. Now he was Chancellor, he was determined to oppose it internationally. His first major opportunity to do this came in 1936 with the outbreak of civil war in Spain. Stalin backed the left-wing Republicans and sent them aircraft, tanks and weapons in an effort to add them to their international revolutionary movement. Hitler backed the Nationalists and sent them his Condor Legion of advanced bombers and fighter aircraft.

The conflict attracted thousands of volunteers from around the world—most of them socialists and Communists who served in an international brigade supporting the Republican cause. Among the many British volunteers was a 21-year-old from Derbyshire called Alexander Foote. It was while serving in Spain that he was recruited by Soviet Military Intelligence as a spy.

By 1937, Stalin had lost interest in the civil war and directed his more urgent efforts against his direct rival—Nazi Germany. Alexander Foote was sent to Switzerland where he worked as a radio operator for a Soviet spy ring. In 1938, Foote travelled to Germany to investigate the possibility of the greatest Soviet blow against the Third Reich—killing Hitler. He arrived in Munich and made his way to a restaurant much loved by Hitler.

It was the Osteria Bavaria on Schelling Strasse. His report on the ease with which explosives could be placed in this restaurant revealed startling gaps in Hitler's security. The restaurant was on the list of key Nazi locations guarded by the RSD. They should have checked the comings and goings of any suspicious diners—but Foote believed there was no such obstacle to him carrying out an assassination attempt.

On another occasion he tested the alertness of Hitler's restaurant bodyguards with a fellow English spy called Bill Philips. 'One day Bill stationed himself at the table next to the gangway, and as Hitler approached put his hand rapidly and furtively into his pocket—and drew out a cigarette case,' recalled Foote. 'I, on the other side of the room, watched the reactions of Hitler's entourage and the rest of the lunchers, among whom, one imagined, there must have been a fair sprinkling of trigger-happy Gestapo





**Walter Schellenberg—one of Hitler's most lethal SS hit men—was given the mission to hunt down Otto Strasser, an implacable enemy of the Fuhrer after his brother was killed by the Nazis.**

agents. Nothing whatever happened. No reaction was visible.'

Foote's rehearsal for assassination revealed a surprising looseness in Hitler's personal security and he passed the information on to his Soviet masters. He recommended him as an easy target for elimination. But the answer came back 'do not kill Hitler'. There had been a dramatic shift in Stalin's personal security by this time. He feared his own Russian officers were plotting against him. Stalin unleashed a bloody purge that slaughtered thousands of his best soldiers.

It left him vulnerable and to provoke a war with Germany by killing Hitler did not seem a good idea. In fact, the next year, the Soviet Union concluded a peace pact with Nazi Germany. It

was a devil's alliance that shook many Soviet supporters around the world. At a stroke, it removed any threat of Soviet assassination. It has been suggested that this spectacular own-goal by Stalin was in fact triggered by SS agents creating mayhem within his own legions.

### **Savage assault**

In early 1937, Heydrich, head of the SD—the SS Security Service—received a report from a White Russian émigré based in Paris, called Nikolai Skoblin. It said that Soviet Marshal Mikhail Tukhachevsky was plotting to overthrow Stalin. Tukhachevsky was one of Stalin's most talented generals. At just 31-years-old, he became chief of staff of the Soviet Army and was a key figure in its modernisation.

He ordered thousands of tanks—making it a military rival to Germany—and developed blitzkrieg warfare tactics.

As part of his job, Tukhachevsky made several trips to Germany and had close links with its generals. But this made him suspicious in the eyes of the NKVD—the Peoples' Commissariat of Internal Affairs—forerunner of the dreaded KGB. Heydrich could see a golden opportunity to heighten Soviet paranoia and passed on his information about Tukhachevsky's plot to Hitler. They agreed it was genuine.

In order to secure more evidence, Heydrich instructed his SD agents to break into the offices of the military secret service offices—the Abwehr—in Bendlerstrasse. Incriminating evidence revealing Tukhachevsky's links with the German army was then passed on to Czech agents. They handed it to Eduard Benes, President of Czechoslovakia. Benes was an ally of Stalin and his intelligence network got it to Moscow by May 1937.

On 4 June, Tukhachevsky was arrested. He was violently tortured—his written confession was stained with his blood. A week later, he was put on trial along with seven other senior members of the general staff—all accused of plotting to kill Stalin. Despite their torture, none of the eight suspects, including Tukhachevsky, pleaded guilty. But in the typed trial report all their 'no's were changed to 'yes's. They were condemned to death. Shortly afterwards, all eight generals were shot and their bodies buried in anonymous graves.

But this was not the end of the affair. Over the next 10 days, hundreds of high-ranking officers were arrested. From May 1937 to September 1938, over 35,000 officers were arrested or expelled from the Red Army. It is unknown how many of these were executed or died in prison camps. Such a savage assault on his own armed forces could not be without consequences for Stalin. In 1939, when he turned to the Soviet Army to invade Finland, it lacked the experienced officers he needed. The resulting bloodbath meant that 68,000 Soviet troops died in what should have been an easy victory.

Watching the poor performance of Stalin in Finland encouraged Hitler to press ahead with his plans to attack the Soviet Union. By drastically reducing the strength of Germany's major adversary, Heydrich and his SD Security Service agents had arguably done more to protect their Fuhrer than anyone else. SS dirty tricks became the hallmark of Hitler's march to war in the late 1930s •



# Great Military Artists



Indian Mutineers about to be blown from guns of the Bengal Horse Artillery, watercolour by Orlando Norie c1858.



The 14th (King's) Light Dragoons in India, by Orlando Norie c1858.

## Orlando Norie

Orlando Norie was a prolific and successful painter of the military world in the second half of the 19th century. He kept a studio at Aldershot, the large army camp in Hampshire, from about 1870 to enable him to study his chosen subject at first hand. Famous and foreign battle scenes he worked-up from rough sketches made on-the-spot by serving officers. Born in Edinburgh in 1832 to a notable Scottish family of painters and decorators, his artist father Robert christened him Orlando, the Italian name of Charlemagne's paladin Roland.

He learned to draw and paint under his father's tutelage and at 16 illustrated a booklet dealing with flags of the maritime nations. He came to professional and public notice in 1854-55 with his paintings of the Crimean War. The print publishing firm of Ackermann in London issued three colour lithographs by Edmund Walker after original watercolours by Norie: 'The Battle of Alma', published in November 1854; 'The Battle of Balaklava' and 'The Battle of Inkerman', both issued in January 1855.

### Growing success

Rudolf Ackermann, born in Germany in 1764, opened his print shop in London in 1795. He is said to have introduced

lithography as a fine art into England. Ackermann's proved essential to Norie's growing public success. In 1859, the firm published a large painting by Norie as an aquatint engraved by J Harris, entitled 'The British Army', showing 26 figures, both mounted and dismounted (a second state was issued in 1863). Norie also produced scenes of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-58. One such recorded the barbarous punishment entitled 'Mutineers about to be blown from guns of the Bengal Horse Artillery.' It must be said that this extreme mode of punishment was not invented by the British; it had been the recognised penalty for mutiny and rebellion from 17th century Mughal India onwards.

During the next 30 years, Ackermann published many Norie-originated images including 'Ackermann's Volunteers' 1860, engraved by J Harris; 'Ackermann's Royal Navy' 1869, engraved by W Summers; 'Norie's 42nd Highlanders' engraved by P Rainger, and 'The Indian Contingent' 1882, by Orlando Norie. The latter chromolithograph depicted the Indian troops engaged with the British forces in the then current Egyptian campaign, the original watercolour of which was presented to HRH the Duke of Connaught, third son of Queen Victoria, who had served in the war.

In 1882 at the Royal Academy, Norie exhibited his 'Battle of Ulundi: Charge of the 17th Lancers' during the Zulu War, and in 1884 his 'Battle of Tel-el-Kebir.' As well as providing illustrations for Regimental Histories and plates of uniforms in portfolio and album form, he also designed sheet music covers, such as 'The Alexandra March' composed for the 4th Militia Battalion the Princess of Wales's Own Yorkshire Regiment. In 1887, Queen Victoria invited Norie to record the scene as the Royal Procession left Buckingham Palace at her Jubilee. The resulting painting entitled 'Cavalcade of the Princes' portrayed in fine detail the princes and dukes of Britain, Germany and Russia, riding three-abreast preceding the Royal carriage. The artist accomplished this difficult, crowded subject with remarkable skill.

Orlando Norie died in 1901, aged 69. There are 38 works of his in the Royal Collection. His paintings and prints adorn numerous Regimental Messes, Regimental Museums and Military Clubs throughout the United Kingdom. The celebrated Anne SKBrown Military Collection in the USA has some 200 original Norie watercolours •

*Peter Newark*



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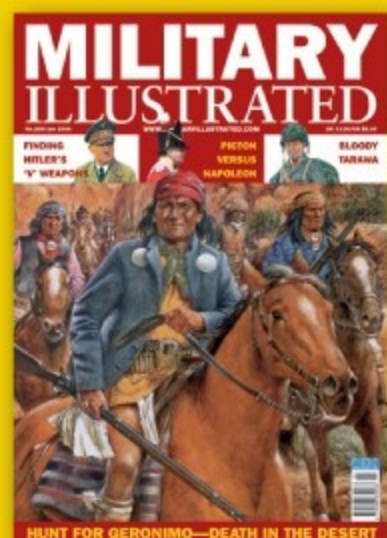
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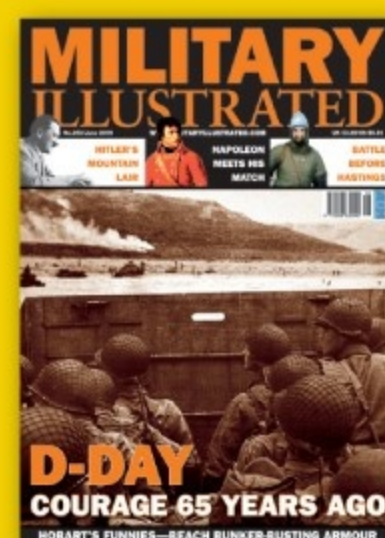
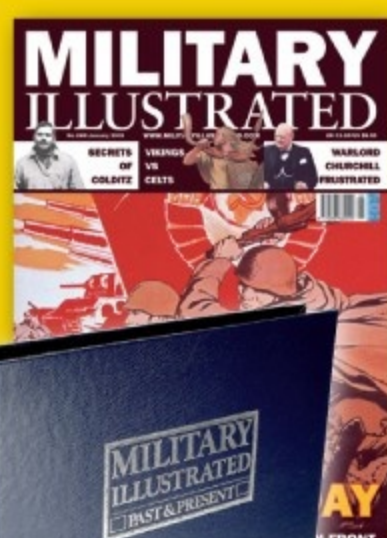
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# Re-enactors



## Building a Castle

PHILIPP ELLIOT-WRIGHT reveals the ultimate medieval re-enactors are building their own castle in France.

**T**he primary aim of re-enactment is to bring history alive. Since its inception in the 1960s, many groups have become leaders in the field of research and reconstruction, not just the day-to-day life of a given age, but the methods used to construct items and the required skills. Consequently, re-enactors have been involved in a number of projects to restore and reconstruct accurate settings for their portrayal of history. Sometimes it is often easier to construct from scratch than restoring historical ruins.

### Burgundy castle

It is in France that the most substantial of these projects is underway—the most remarkable being the construction of a 13th century castle in Burgundy near Yonne.

Named Guédelon castle, the aim is to build a castle utilising only the techniques and materials used in the medieval period. This is more than just a 21st century version of a Victorian folly, as those structures were built using 19th century techniques and there was no attempt at building an accurate medieval structure, rather they were Gothic fantasy. Guédelon is something fundamentally different.

It is the brainchild of Michel Guyot. Back in the 1970s, driven by a childhood passion for ancient buildings, he and his brother Jacques purchased the ruined castle of Saint-Fargeau. This structure was on the verge of collapse, yet with the help of a full-scale re-enactment of its history by hundreds of French re-enactors, the local community became aware of

its importance, and with the continued assistance of re-enactors, sufficient money has been raised over the last 30 years to see its complete restoration.

In the course of this process, the original 13th century castle was identified, all but buried inside the many subsequent additions. This triggered the idea of building a 13th century castle from scratch using only contemporary materials and techniques, both to better understand how such buildings worked and to assist in future preservation projects of original buildings, but to also act as almost the ultimate living history project.

### Medieval team

Driven forward by the Guyot's, work commenced in 1997 with an expectation that the castle will be finished by around 2025. The site was chosen using contemporary logic, thus it sits at an appropriate strategic location to command the surrounding countryside, whilst all the necessary building materials are close by in the form of wood, stone, earth, sand and clay. Indeed, the stone masons work in a quarry within yards of its growing walls. A team of around 50 craftsmen and workers are on the site throughout the year, most clothed as 13th century folk and all use only 13th century tools. The range of skills are present, as they would have been, thus there are quarrymen, stonemasons, woodcutters, carpenters, blacksmiths, tile makers, basket weavers, twisters of rope, carters and the numerous horses, the latter all of local breeds used 900 years ago.

The various workshops alongside the castles walls are also constructed as would the originals, thus the blacksmith works in a reconstructed 13th century forge, forging the thousands of nails and range of tools used by the stonemasons to hew the stone, whilst the carpenter works in his workshop to cut the vast quantities of wooden planking for scaffolds, floorboards and roofing. The whole site is open to the public who can thus watch the gradual construction, gaining a unique understanding of how such castles were built, how people lived in the 13th century, and their entrance fees make a substantial contribution to the funding of the project •

For further information on Guédelon Castle, visit [www.guedelon.fr/en/the-guedelon-adventure](http://www.guedelon.fr/en/the-guedelon-adventure)





## AN ARMoured CAT IN MINIATURE VAJRA MINIATURE 1:35 D9 DOZER KIT NO.FF35005

Varja Miniature's impressive 1:35 USMC Caterpillar D9 Dozer. Model by Michael Rinaldi.

**C**aterpillar is world renowned for making some of the best construction equipment on the planet and of the lot dozers are at the top of the 'cool' heap. Of those, the D9 reigns supreme as a perennial favourite. D9s in various shapes and sizes have been in action since the mid '50s and the current iteration of this metal giant has been around for over a decade now. But we aren't here to read about civvy stuff are we? No sir, give us the biggest beast you have and encase it in amour plating thick enough to stop a .50cal round cold...

Varja Miniature is a new Chinese resin kit maker and this model is a cast resin production. There are only two main schemes available and both are similar by nature – IDF grey or US sand. Scouring the net, I was able to find a couple of USMC models in use and they looked just how I imagined a D9 should; beat to hell!

### Paint and hairspray!

To get started on the main part of the paint job, I primed the model with Mr Hobby Mr. Surfacer 1200 primer. For the first layer of colour, I painted everything in Tamiya XF-63 German Grey to act as the bare steel colour. Over this I sprayed a layer of hairspray straight from the aerosol can from about twelve inches away and kept the can moving quickly to maintain an even distribution.

### 'That' yellow...

Now it was time to apply the Cat Yellow, which I mixed from XF-3 Yellow and few drops of X-26 Clear Orange that imparted a semi-gloss sheen to the colour. From here I could then start to do some serious chipping. With about three layers of colour to work with I moved my way around all of the yellow to chip each section at a time. At this point, I sealed the model with a satin varnish to prevent any further wear on the paint applied to this point.

### Weathering the tracks

The initial layer of colour was XF-63, on top of which I sponged XF-69 NATO Black to enhance the darker steel shade. Next I applied the two middle colours of rust from the Lifecolor set, again using the sponges and thinning the paint heavily with water so they would act more like a thick wash. The final layer was to add some pigments for both dirt and texture. I apply these dry and then gently add some Fixer to hold them in place.

### Conclusion?

What a beast! Varja is to be congratulated on their efforts. The model does have some over-simplified details, and does exhibit some typical resin hiccups, but the kit represents the subject nicely. Their line-up has quietly grown into a very eclectic mixture of modern armour



subjects and I can't wait to see what steel monsters they create for us next.

### Vajra Miniatures 1:35 D9 Dozer Kit No.FF35005;

Polyurethane resin, clear acrylic

Paints; Tamiya Acrylics XF-2 Flat White, XF-55 Deck Tan, X-23 Clear Blue, X-25 Clear Green, XF-63 German Grey, XF-79 Linoleum Deck Brown, XF-3 Yellow, X-26 Clear Orange, XF-57 Buff, XF-20 Medium Grey, XF-69 NATO Black, XF-67 NATO Green XF-26 Green

Other materials used;

Mr Hobby Mr. Surfacer 1200, Mig Productions' Abteilung 502 weathering oil paints, aerosol hairspray

Availability;

Vajra Miniatures kit are available direct from [www.vajraminiature.com](http://www.vajraminiature.com)

The D9 dozer costs \$189 plus shipping •



# Militaria

## Valuable Badges

**A**t Bosleys sale of antique arms and militaria in early June, there were over a thousand lots listed in a good quality well-illustrated catalogue. Army badges have become a solid field of collecting and of the thousand lots there were more than 300 various badges on offer at prices ranging from less than £50 up to £1,150. The top prices went to a Victorian Shoulder Belt plate and a Victorian shako plate. The importance of correct identification was made clear by two examples of the 18th (1st Staffordshire) regiment, Victorian other ranks, Glengarry badges. One dated from 1877-1881 sold for £40, whilst another of the same regiment, dating from 1874-1881, sold for £220.

There was a good selection of medals, including some interesting ones from the Indian Mutiny and a pair presented to the last officer to leave the residence at Lucknow realised £4,400. A number of groups won by members of the RAF or RFC sold well and one very rare group sold for £16,500 and a number of others went for several thousands. There were about 20 of the decorated police truncheons, with those bearing the name of a specific location generally fetching prices higher than the more anonymous ones. Two railway police truncheons sold for £350 and £420.



**Luftwaffe parachutist's helmet, £3,400.**



**Shoulder belt plate of 29th (Worcestershire) Regiment of Foot officer, c1832-55, £950.**

### Steel helmet

Military head dress, as always sold very well, and five of the lots went for over £1000—the top price going to a 4th Royal Irish Dragoons Trooper's 1843-47 model helmet which sold for £3,400. The cheapest lot was a forage cap of a Household Cavalry officer of George VI period which was snapped up at £70. What may have surprised many collectors was a privately purchased World War Two steel helmet with tailored liner and supplier's label, which sold at £220—its rarity perhaps overshadowed by its simplicity.

A good selection of Third Reich material was on offer and as always made respectable prices. Top price was a surprising £3,400 for a parachutist helmet but these Fallschirmager pieces are keenly collected. There were several combat clasps and badges, mostly selling for price of a couple of hundred pounds or less.

Bosleys sale was followed a few days later in June by a Wallis and Wallis general sales of some 350 lots. These sales always open with a selection of items grouped under the heading of Collectors Items and Models and it is worth looking through these for the variety of objects is enormous. This section included a model of a Waterloo 9-pounder field gun and limber at £190

and a General Gordon Doultonware commemorative jug at £40.

Prices on most lots were very reasonable and only two made more than £1,000—one was a Japanese sword, katana, which went at £1,800 and the other was a French Sapper's heavy armour worn by troops working close to the enemy's position and dating from around 1800. It comprised a helmet and breast and back plates and the hammer came down at £1,600.

De-activated weapons continue to hold their prices and £775 was paid for a Liberator pistol. These pressed plate

.45 pistols were crude and mass produced for distribution to resistance units across Europe during World War Two. Their very crudity made them unlikely survivors and consequently they are now quite rare. A Bren gun .303 machine



**Elaborately decorated silver mounted Arab Jambiyah with woven belt, £210.**

gun with tripod mounts sold for £250, whilst a Vickers heavy machine gun with a number of rare accessories and fittings made £875.

This sale included another group of posters from World Wars One and Two. Unlikely survivors considering their fragile nature and therefore very unusual. They sold in small batches at prices ranging from £80 up to £750 for a group of four with an agricultural theme •

*Frederick Wilkinson*



# Museums & Shows

## Queen's Royal Regiment

JOHN NORRIS visits a military museum in Surrey

**T**he Queen's Royal Regiment (West Surrey) can trace its origins back to October 1661 when it was raised as the Tangier Regiment. Only three months later, it was en route to serve as the garrison in Tangier which had been acquired as part of the dowry when King Charles II married Catherine of Braganza. For its service there, during which time it was engaged in fighting against Dutch forces, the regiment was awarded the battle honour of Tangier.

Over the following four centuries, the regiment gained further battle honours, the history of each can be found at the Queen's Royal Surrey Regiment Museum, Clandon Park, Guildford, Surrey, GU4 7RQ. During this same period of time, the regiment underwent a series of name changes including 2nd Regiment of Foot, before being given the title Queen's Royal Regiment (West Surrey) in 1921.

### Kirk's Lambs

Apart from its distinguished service the regiment has had a varied history including time served as a detachment of marines on board HMS Queen Charlotte in 1794. Like many regiments of similar vintage, 'Kirk's Lambs', to give them one of their nicknames, have served all over the world, including China which gave them further battle honours including Taku Forts and Peking. During WW2, the regiment served in North Africa and Italy and details of these campaigns are listed at the museum. Artefacts from these and other campaigns are on display along with weapons and items of uniform from earlier periods such as an officers 'grenadier' cap dating from 1760.

The regiment has been awarded nine VCs, with two being held by the museum, and the history behind each is told in the exhibition. In post-war years the regiment underwent several changes

beginning with the amalgamation with the East Surrey Regiment in 1959. Further changes came in 1966, and in 1970 it was reduced in size to three battalions. Today it is known as the Princess of Wales's Royal Regiment (Queen's and Royal Hampshires) following another amalgamation in 1992. The museum has a library and research facilities which can be used with prior written arrangement. For times of opening it is best to telephone 01483 223419.



## September UK Diary

### ■ 4: Saturday

Cornish Scale Modellers: the West Cornwall Branch of the IPMS will be hosting the club's annual model show at St John's Hall, Alverton Street, Penzance TR18 2QR. Traders' stalls and displays. Further details telephone 01736 757945 or 01736 360683.

- Arms, Medal and Militaria Fair is being held at the Rivington Suite, Horwich Leisure Centre, Victoria Road, Horwich, Bolton BL6 5PY. Doors open between 10am and 3pm. Range of traders with books, medals and photographs. Further details telephone 01423 780759 or visit [www.northernarmsfairs.co.uk](http://www.northernarmsfairs.co.uk)

### ■ 5: Sunday

South Wales Branch of the MAFVA is hosting an open afternoon at St John's Church Hall, Rachel Close, Danescourt, Cardiff CF5 2SH. Doors open between 2.30 and 5.00pm with free entry. Display of models by members of the branch along with members from other clubs. Further details telephone 01443 208447.

Militaria and Collectors' Fair is being held at The Maltings, off Bridge Square, Farnham, Surrey GU9 7QR. Wide range of collectables including books, photographs, models and many other items. Doors open between 10am and 2pm.

Further details telephone 01892 730233 or visit [www.militaria-fairs.com](http://www.militaria-fairs.com)

The Aerospace & Vehicle Club is hosting its annual model show and competition at the Community Centre, Church Road, Wombourne, just off the A449. Doors open between 10am and 4pm. Further details telephone 01543 276025 or visit [www.ukvillages.co.uk](http://www.ukvillages.co.uk) (and follow the links)

### ■ 6: Monday

Stockport Militaria Collectors Society will be hosting a presentation with guest speaker Michael Murphy presenting a talk on Nelson's Navy and Traditions at the Britannia Hotel, Dialstone Lane, Offerston, Stockport, Cheshire SK2 6AG. Meeting begins at 7.45pm. Further details telephone 01709 557622 or visit [www.stockportmilitaria.org](http://www.stockportmilitaria.org)

### ■ 11-12: Saturday & Sunday

Heritage Open Day weekend at Fort Nelson, Fareham, Hants PO17 6AN. Tours of the fort not normally open to the public. Ideal opportunity to see more detail of this Victorian fortification. Further details telephone 01329 233734 or visit [www.royalarmouries.org](http://www.royalarmouries.org)

### ■ 18: Saturday

Scarlet and Gold, a concert by the massed

bands of the Household Division is being held at the Royal Albert Hall to raise funds for the Guards charities. Programme begins at 7.30pm. Further details telephone 020 7589 8212 or visit [www.royalalberthall.com](http://www.royalalberthall.com)

### ■ 19: Sunday

Sutton Coldfield Modelmakers' Society is holding its 'Model Spectacular 2010' with doors open between 10am and 4.30pm with a £3 entrance charge. Traders' stalls and displays. Further details telephone either 01827 61156 or 0167 654 0469 or visit [www.suttonmodellers.fotopic.net](http://www.suttonmodellers.fotopic.net)

Arms, Medal and Militaria Fair is being held at the Village Hotel, Whiston, Liverpool L35 1RZ. Doors open between 10am and 3pm. Traders on site with books, medals uniforms and models.

Wings and Wheels at Turweston Aerodrome, Westbury, Brackley, Northants. NN13 5YD. Military vehicles, re-enactment displays, vintage aircraft 'fly in' and traders' stalls with collectables. Further details telephone 01280 705400 or visit [www.turwestonflight.com](http://www.turwestonflight.com)

*Continued on p58*



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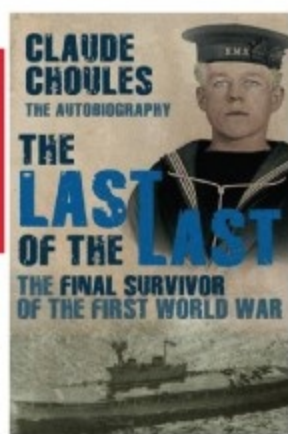




# Book Reviews

## The Last of the Last: The Final Survivor of the First World War

by Claude Choules  
(Mainstream  
Publishing) 240pp,  
hardback, £16.99



This edited autobiography covers Claude Choules' active service in the Royal (and Royal Australian) Navy from his joining in April 1915 to his retirement in 1956. He is the last man alive to have served in a military capacity in two world wars. The narrative is engaging, replete with lucid descriptions, technical details and memorable anecdotes. Ken Farrington provides excellent additional historical material. The introductory chapter describes Charles' childhood in the Vale of Evesham and vividly evokes life in rural England in the early twentieth century. His initial naval training, aged 14, on HMS Mercury, is graphically outlined.

At 16, he transferred to HMS Revenge—experiencing his first taste of action a few months after the battle of Jutland. He also witnessed the scuppering of the German Grand Fleet at Scapa Flow. His memories of these events are powerfully expressed. The inter-war period was also exciting, as the Navy had the peace to keep and an Empire to run. He became a leading Torpedoman and subsequently a Petty Officer. To further his career, he joined the Royal Australian Navy serving on HMS Canberra, and also met his future wife. During WW2, he was based at Fremantle in Western Australia, where he was responsible for demolition and munitions and when the war ended he joined the Naval Dockyard Police. This book should appeal to both naval enthusiasts and a wider audience.

John Allen

## The Battle for Burma: an illustrated history

by Roy Conyers  
Nesbitt (Pen & Sword)  
256pp, hardback,  
£25.00



It is no longer true to say, as soldiers did during World War Two, that the Burma campaign is a forgotten one. The author

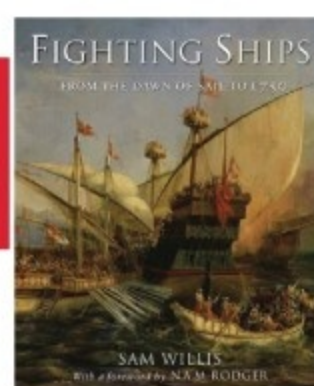
of this book has put together a valuable collection of photographs, supported by a readable text, covering the initial disasters and the slow march to victory. By the end of the war, the tables had been so decisively turned on the Japanese that a masterpiece of planning delivered an inevitable blow. Anyone interested in this fighting will learn about the conduct of operations at all levels from the experience of horribly laden individuals at river crossings, to platoons struggling through the elephant grass, mules carrying supplies and so on.

As might be expected from this author, there is quite an emphasis on the air war aspects of the campaigns. There are plenty of studies of aircraft and their maintenance and some powerful examples of air photography (for example, the destruction of bridges which hamstrung Japanese attempts at resistance). Almost all the photographs are simply labelled 'author's collection', but it would be very interesting to know the provenance of such a diverse and interesting compilation. This quibble aside, the book packs a lot of information into a small compass and is well worth the read.

Matthew Bennett

## Fighting Ships from the Ancient World to 1750

by Sam Willis  
(Quercus)  
144pp, hardback,  
£25.00



The author has several naval books to his credit concerning the Age of Sail and actually sailed the vessels used in the Hornblower Napoleonic warfare series. He is clearly an expert on the topic and in this volume presents 150 glorious full-colour illustrations from the time of the trireme (including the fabulous 1987 full-size replica for the Greek Navy) through medieval ships such as are shown on the Bayeux Tapestry to the fabulous galleons of the Age of Reconnaissance and the men-o'-war of Anglo-French wars of the mid-18th century. There is a great variety of objects on display from maps to murals, astrolabes to artillery, and sabres to sternposts. But, and it's as big a but as the book itself, the volume is huge and almost unmanageable. Its dimensions are 430 x 353mm (that's almost 18" by 14"

in old money). Even as a display volume it is oversized, since it is actually larger than my own coffee table! Also, as the text is often normal book sized (although section introductions have larger lettering), it is actually very difficult to read. There is no doubt that at £25 the reader gets some lovely colour prints, but these would have been just as good at half the size. I can think of no real reason for this gigantism as it adds nothing to the book's intrinsic value.

Matthew Bennett

## The Pacific; D-Days in the Pacific with the US Coastguard: the story of Lucky 15

by Hugh Ambrose (Cannongate,  
2010) 489 pp, hardback, £20.00;  
by Ken Wiley (Casemate) 334pp,  
softback, £14.99



If 'The Pacific' author's name seems familiar, it is because Hugh is the son of Stephen Ambrose, whose 'Band of Brothers' made such an impact in the 1990s, both in print and on TV. Since the book is also linked to a 10-part HBO mini-series, the obvious intention of the publisher is to match that success. They say that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery; but does the attempt work? To my mind it does. The book is elegantly written, enthralling, funny, sad, and terrifying as only the personal accounts of ordinary soldiers can make military history. It is as fitting a tribute to his father as the author intends in his dedication and the richness of the study bodes well for the television adaptation. The amphibious, island-hopping and bunker-storming nature of the US Pacific war is also explored in Ken Wiley's book. This personal account is novelistic in its form, which brings the reader close to the experiences of another band of brothers (the phrase is originally naval from Admiral Lord Nelson, of course) and the powerful nature of the eye-witness story is added to by some extremely skilful pencil-sketch renditions of the events which the author covers. Read both of these books to gain a real understanding of the brutal yet bonding nature of war at the sharp end.

Matthew Bennett



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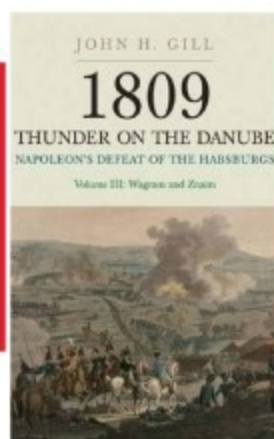
# Book Reviews

## 1809: Thunder on the Danube—Napoleon's Defeat of the Habsburgs, Volume 3: Wagram and Znaim

by John H Gill

(Frontline Books)

554pp, hardback, £30.00



## The Last Stand: Custer, Sitting Bull and the Battle of Little Big Horn

by Nathaniel Philbrick  
(The Bodley Head)

496 pp, hardcover, £20.00



The third volume of the author's 20-year project on the topic lives up to the standards of the first two. The topic and the way it is presented is a military history buff's dream. Napoleon's attempt to defeat his Austrian rival with a number of German allies, the gallant Poles and the opportunistic Russians, was successful, but it was to be his last campaign as the master of war. The big picture is very impressive with fighting from Italy to Hungary and Balkan places in-between, until the final decision on the Danube.

Gill moves fluently from the strategic, through the operational and into the tactical modes and back, providing a rich and enthralling narrative and analysis of events. I often have cause to complain that authors are poorly served by their publishers in respect of mapping, but not this book—the maps of all levels of activity are excellent. This is a thoroughly researched and academic study with over 100 pages of bibliography and notes, but it is not at all difficult to read. There are another 100 pages of orbats so useful for reconstructing the actions described. This reviewer knows of at least one wargamer whose (miniature) Poles are thirsting to recreate Prince Poniatowski's efforts of two centuries ago. The book is dedicated to former Sandhurst Napoleonic expert the late David Chandler, who, if he is looking down, must surely approve.

Matthew Bennett

On 25 June 1876, Lt-Col George Custer and over 200 men of his famed 7th US Cavalry were killed in an epic confrontation with thousands of Indian warriors near the Little Big Horn River. This iconic battle, popularly known as 'Custer's Last Stand', continues to hold a fascination for each generation, spawning an abundance of associated research and books. Nonetheless, the latest offering by multi-award winning American author, Nathaniel Philbrick, rises above much of the previous subject matter with a refreshing and immensely vivid account of this oft-told tale.

Previously renowned for his maritime-themed popular history books, Philbrick recounts the 7th Cavalry's fated journey from Fort Lincoln onto the barren Montana battlefield in a manner that evokes the isolation of a sea journey. Full of insightful detail, the author's rich, cinematic narrative breathes life into the battle's protagonists, especially Custer and Sitting Bull, before finally transporting the reader right into the heart of the fight, where bravery and sheer terror were evident in equal measure. Philbrick draws on a lifelong personal interest in the battle to present a well-researched study that both excites and informs. Already an American bestseller, this book is highly recommended for Little Big Horn buffs and novices alike.

Robert Doyle

## Sept UK Diary *continued*

### ■ 25: Saturday

Bunker Bash end of season event at Kelvedon Hatch Secret Nuclear Bunker, Brentwood, Essex. Traders' stalls for collectables, re-enactment displays and battles, military vehicles and static displays. Further details telephone 07971 052195.

### ■ 25-26: Saturday & Sunday

The Northampton & Lamport Railway is going to war for the weekend as its Pitsford and Brampton Station is turned back to the 1940s in Pitsford Road, Chapel Brampton, Northampton NN6 8BA. Evacuees, Home Guard and the Home Front will be recreated along with displays and traders' stalls. Further information telephone 01604 458521 or visit [www.nlr.org.uk/events/rlyatwar.htm](http://www.nlr.org.uk/events/rlyatwar.htm)



### ■ 26: Sunday

Militaria, Medal & Arms Collectors' Fair is being held at the Council House, Spadesbourne Suite, Burcot Lane, Bromsgrove, Worcs. B60 1AA. Doors open between 9.30am and 2pm. Traders on site offering a range of collectables from books to uniforms along with models and photographs. Further details telephone 01926 886510 or visit [www.rzmilitaria.com](http://www.rzmilitaria.com)

### ■ 29: Wednesday

Lecture by Rob Caskie, renowned Anglo-Zulu war historian and storyteller, raising funds for Breast Cancer Haven Trust and The David Rattray Foundation at the Inaugural Rob Caskie Lecture on The Anglo Zulu Wars at The Royal Geographical Society, London, at 7.00 pm. Tickets for this lecture are available on line from Abercrombie & Kent by using the PayPal link on their website [www.abercrombiekent.co.uk](http://www.abercrombiekent.co.uk).

All modelling societies, war gaming clubs, re-enactment units and museums are invited to send news and details of their special events to:

John Norris,  
1 Porters Hatch Close,  
Meare,  
Glastonbury,  
Somerset,  
BA6 9SB.

They can also be E-mailed to:

[john.norris3@btinternet.com](mailto:john.norris3@btinternet.com) where they will be included in this monthly list.

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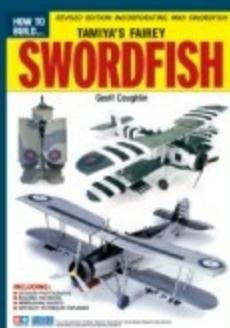
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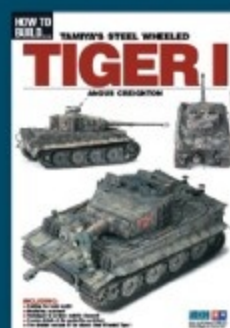
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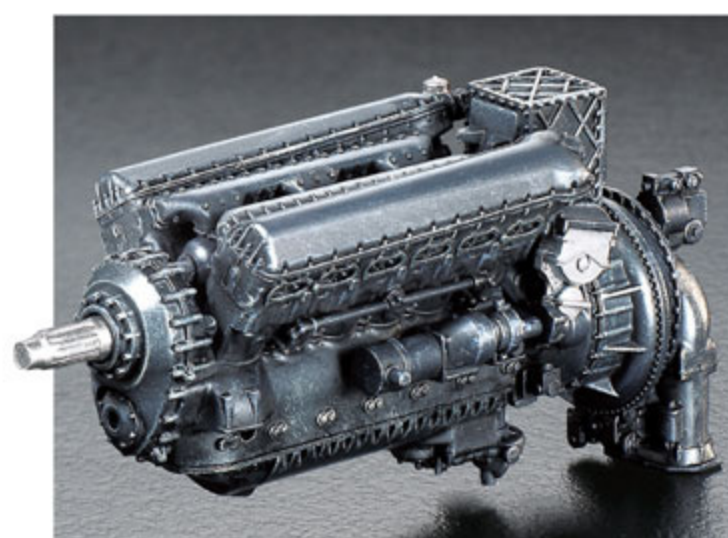
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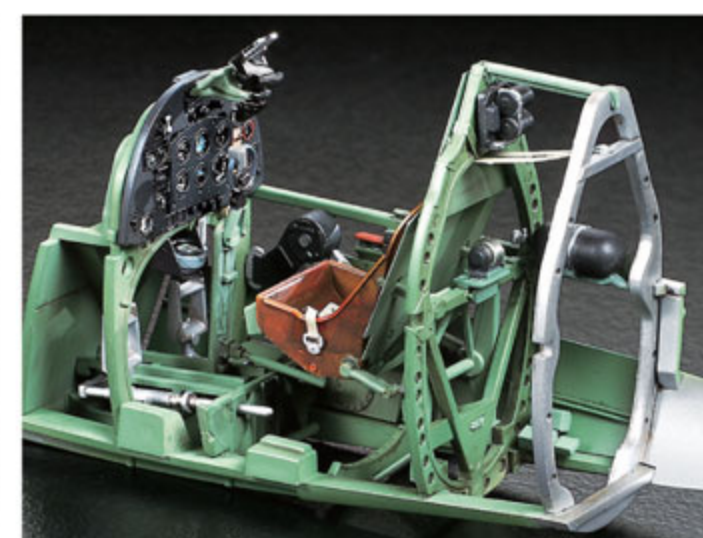
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A Reference Manual w/Photos (A5 Size, 16 Pages, Full-Color) is conveniently included.